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commonweal

MICHAEL T. KLARE

INTERVENTION GAME-PLANS FOR THE 1970s

RAMSDELL GURNEY, JR.

IS COLLISION INEVITABLE?

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SISYPHUS DEATH OF A SALESMAN
MICHAEL NOVAK THE MORAL MEANING OF ISRAEL
FRANK GETLEIN THE THEATER ON TELEVISION
COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR. HARKENING TO ARKIN
MARK TAYLOR McHALE'S RETREAT
JOHN C. CORT NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD
GEORGE DEVINE RECOVERING THE SACRED
MARGARET WIMSATT GRAHAM GREENE'S MONKEY

INDEX TO VOLUME CI

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NEWS & VIEWS

Racism & Georgetown

In 1966, it was a goose-stepping "Nazi" cheerleader with a soldier's suit and "Sieg Heil" hoyas. This year it's a bed-sheet banner unfurled at a recent basketball game branding the coach a "nigger flop."

Then, as now, the place is Georgetown University. Then, as now, the incident has overspilled the campus. Now, unlike then, the Jesuit administration is deeply and genuinely shaken—an indication, perhaps, that some events of the 1960s have not been without sensitizing effect.

In 1966, the antics of the "Nazi" cheerleader were defended by the Jesuit director of student personnel. The cheerleader had appeared at past Georgetown games, he observed, and would appear at some future ones—though not again at an NYU game, particularly, it seemed, one played in Madison Square Garden. (Better not to beard the lion in his own den.) In 1966, the memory of Nazism was obviously neither too tragic nor too recent that it could not be reduced at Georgetown to quaint joke or sports ceremonial. Boys would be boys—or so the attitude seemed to be.

There's none of that flabby attitudinizing this time around over the racist act aimed at John Thompson, the former Providence College and Boston Celtics star, who is in his third year as basketball coach at Georgetown.

At a recent game with Dickinson College, a banner appeared via a window high on the east end of McDonough Gymnasium reading, "Thompson, Nigger Flop Must Go." Immediately the act was blasted by Georgetown president, Father R.J. Henle, S.J., as "despicable," the work of a "bigoted kook, a stupid fellow . . . . Cowardly, without the guts to stand up and be counted."

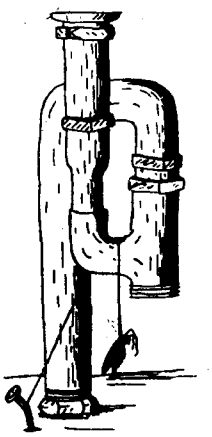
Who pulled the stunt is not known. A search was conducted behind the gym after the incident occurred, with no results. The person (or persons) responsible had fled. Father Henle declared, "The fool will not be pursued."

The incident itself, however, refuses to flee. Rather it has opened up the question of "racism" on campus.

In an apology to coach Thompson and the team for the insult dealt them, the representative of the Black Student Alliance, Fred Baylor, spoke on behalf of the total black community at Georgetown and "some of the white students on this campus."

The student newspaper, *The Hoya*, bristled at the qualification, saying editorially that it "tarnished his reply." Ironically, a column in the same issue of *The Hoya* was commenting that "what this episode does not demonstrate is just how pervasive racist feeling is at Georgetown." (It added, however, "our thinking is that the vast majority deplore this sort of attack upon Thompson.")

At a team press conference, Felix Yeoman, freshman forward and spokesman, eloquently defended Thompson as a person who placed first things first. "He told each of us before we signed a grant-in-aid to GU," said Yeoman, "that he would only promise us one thing—an education. In fact, he told us, 'if you don't want to work hard, don't come here!' " But Yeoman also struck an ominous note: "Let us caution a certain element that our patience is growing short."



Storm Nehr
Free For All/LNS

As for Thompson, he's sad and he's hurt, but magnanimous. "What counts to me," he told the *Washington Star-News*, "is that Father Henle put himself out on a limb by hiring me. As I think about it I have to feel that it's a sickness in our society, that hiring a black coach caused this. But, hell, Georgetown should be commended, not criticized."

The *Washington Post* quoted Thompson as labeling the incident "unfortunate, because people and other universities can say, 'Look at the problem they have at Georgetown.' They're safe because they're afraid to deal with the problem."

St. Louis & Divinity

A postscript to Margaret M. Carlan's article on St. Louis University ["Shaping the End of a Divinity School?"; 1/17/75]:

The board of trustees of St. Louis University voted to abolish the SLU School of Divinity and merge its programs into an undergraduate-level department of theology —an action which Ms. Carlan predicted would speak volumes about the theological poverty of the Catholic Church in the U.S., should it come to pass.

Father William J. Sullivan, S.J., dean of the divinity school and an opponent of the merger, resigned as dean and as SLU faculty member in protest to the decision.

He fingered SLU president, Father Daniel C. O'Connell, S.J., as culprit. The matter "was not settled on the merits of the issue but because of pressure and the prerogatives of presidential authority," Sullivan charged. He labeled the trustees' vote "an imposition of [O'Connell's] personal authority."

Asked why the trustees had agreed with O'Connell, Sullivan commented: "The major reason for sacrificing theological education is [the board's] unwillingness to face the fact that they made a serious error in choosing that man as president." (O'Connell assumed the university's presidency last July.)

A special subcommittee had unanimously voted to keep a separate school of theological study.

Arms and the Man

A participant in the Vinnell Corporation/U.S. Defense Department $77-million arrangement to train Saudi Arabian troops to protect oilfields denies that he and his 3,000 colleagues are mercenaries.

"We are not mercenaries," he told the *New York Times*, "because we are not pulling the triggers. We train people to pull triggers."

Another, with a more exact grasp of the English language, said: "Maybe that makes us executive mercenaries."

Odds and Ends

— A community with a dilemma: Hiawatha, Iowa, is saddled with a Richard M. Nixon Elementary School. The school board has been petitioned to rename the school in honor of Abraham Lincoln, "a great President, and, in turn, remove the name of a President who resigned office in disgrace."

— A community with a conscience: Clermont-Ferrand, France, rejected ITT's bid to sell street lights to the city because "of the active participation of ITT in financing the coup in Chile, which has established a fascist regime there bordering on Nazism."

— How in is porn? In enough to make it into the *New York Times* crossword puzzle. Item 50-down for 2/12/75: *42nd St. offering.* Not Grand Central; not the Ford Foundation building; not Bryant Park; not the side door to the New York Public Library, Yup. Porn.

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Divinity Fudge

St. Louis, Mo.

To the Editors: The controversies surrounding the St. Louis University School of Divinity are murky enough without Margaret Carlan muddying the waters even more ("Shaping the End of a Divinity School?" Jan. 17).

She postulates a Divinity School which "in many ways represents the new church on campus" and a Theology Department with a "more traditional and apologetic role." (To confuse things even further a "School of Theology" materializes near the end of the article.)

Communio, the journal I edit, has been characterized as conservative. Yet a Divinity professor serves on our editorial board, a Divinity professor will have an article in a forthcoming issue, and I have requested articles from several other Divinity professors. I myself hold an adjunct professorship in the Divinity School. Conversely a Theology professor and I have made minor careers holding public debates on the state of the Church, he upholding the "liberal" side.

There are highly capable, dedicated faculty in both Divinity and Theology and, if the terms are applicable, there are liberals and conservatives in both.

Ms. Carlan's thesis is also inherently illogical. If Father O'Connell, our president, regards the Divinity faculty as of questionable orthodoxy, why should he wish to have them teaching undergraduates or why should he contaminate the "pure" Theology Department by merging the two?

JAMES HITCHCOCK
Department of History
St. Louis University

Reply

In my recent article on the St. Louis University School of Divinity, I mistakenly used the term "School of Theology" in one instance where I should

(Continued on page 466)

NEWS & VIEWS: 442 **CORRESPONDENCE:** 443
EDITORIALS: 443
WASHINGTON REPORT: Death of a Salesman: *Sisyphus* 444
VERSE: *John D. Engle, Jr.* 445
THE MORAL MEANING OF ISRAEL: *Michael Novak* 446
INTERVENTION GAME-PLANS FOR THE '70s: *Michael T. Klare* 447
IS COLLISION INEVITABLE?: *Ramsdell Gurney, Jr.* 452
THE SCREEN: *Colin L. Westerbeck, Jr.* 456
THE THEATER ON TELEVISION: *Frank Getlein* 457
McHALE'S RETREAT: *Mark Taylor* 459
BOOKS: *John C. Cort, George Devine, Margaret Wimsatt* 463
ILLUSTRATIONS: *Front cover: Politique Hebdo (France)/LNS; Page 459: Jill Krementz*
INDEX TO VOLUME CI: 468

JAMES O'GARA: *Editor* JOHN DEEDY: *Managing Editor*
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SISTER POWER

Several events of recent days have helped to dramatize the American nun as a definable new force in the Catholic Church.

In Brooklyn, there was the establishment by the Sisters' Senate of a "Joanne Little Fund" to aid the 20-year-old North Carolina black woman, who has been arraigned on first-degree murder charges in the death of her "rapist" jail-guard. . . . In Washington, there was the appearance before a Senate committee of Sister Janice McLaughlin, M.M., representing the leadership of Maryknoll Sisters who serve in Africa; she was there to register opposition to the nomination of former U.S. Ambassador to Chile Nathaniel Davis as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. . . . In Chicago, meanwhile, there was additional support from the National Assembly of Women Religious for the Equal Rights Amendment, as a measure that will give women complete legal equality without infringement on private lives or family relationships. . . . And in New York, several orders of nuns—among them the Sisters of Loretto, Glenmary Home Missioners, Sisters of the Sorrowful Mother, Benedictine Sisters of Covington, Ky., and the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur—were supporting stockholder challenges to food, agriculture and strip-mining corporate interests.

Paradoxically, the reports reached the press as people were still digesting results of the study by Chicago sociologist John P. Koval and Sister Margaret Modde, O.S.F., former director of the Chicago-based National Sisters Vocation Conference, which showed four times as many women as men leaving religious life. The Koval-Modde report identified a number of primary and secondary factors in the departure of nuns—ranging from loneliness and spiritual stress in personalist directions, to conflicts and disappointments in institutional areas. The factors point up serious problem situations. To the extent, however, that any of the factors might seem to brand religious orders of women as being socially irrelevant and humanly frustrating, they need careful qualification. The new nun has emerged, and

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this could only be possible if many religious orders had themselves been so reoriented as to allow members to realize within them their own rising expectations as women and as Catholics.

The activism featured in recent news stories does not mean by any stretch of the imagination that the emerged Sister has gone about as far as she can go, or ought to go. Major barriers to involvement still stand in the way of the modern nun, and her full role in the community life of the Church will not be realized until these are broken down.

On the one hand, there is the blatant exclusion of women—notably women religious—from decision-making posts within national-level bodies of the Church, and from substantive participation in important international bodies, such as the Vatican commission on the revision of canon law. On the other, there is the issue of the ministerial role of women. Understandably, women are alive to both issues. Within the month, a group of nuns complained to the American bishops on their lack of representation on crucial commissions affecting them personally and at decision-making levels generally. And just a few years ago, the National Assembly of Women Religious went on record that women be ordained deacons in the Catholic church as "a step to full participation in the priesthood." The recommendation is as valid now as it was then.

Ministerial objectives will be more difficult to achieve than participatory ones in administration and on commissions. But the Sisterhoods are not overreaching themselves in working towards and anticipating a ministerial role one day.

Recently, the Vatican's daily newspaper, *L'Osservatore Romano*, dismissed the question of women priests as a "useless" and "dangerous" preoccupation. Of course it is neither. If anything, it seems a particularly appropriate topic for the International Women's Year currently being observed. If it is not, then those matters of freedom, dignity and opportunity close to the heart and mind of today's woman undergo unfair circumscribing in the Church, and woman remains as yet a second-class Catholic.

WASHINGTON REPORT

DEATH OF A SALESMAN

Henry Kissinger has used up his good time, as they say in the barracks.

This exceptional and assertive man is large of intellect, his stewardship of foreign policy not without achievement and his mark as Secretary of State will be more indelible than all except that of Acheson and Dulles in this century.

But, for his own sake, Kissinger, the grey fox, should have quit while he was ahead. He needs a restraining hand, which Nixon, the first President under whom he served, provided. But his current employer, President Ford, has no foreign-policy notions other than Henry's. And the house of cards being built in the Middle East by Kissinger threatens to fall in on him—and us.

If he had departed during the transition period of the Ford administration, even his critics would have given their devil his due. But as matters now pose themselves, he is in danger of losing even this tribute.

There are a number of ill-omens to choose from. One overriding concern, not of Kissinger's making, is newly born congressional efforts to make, or, at least, guide foreign-policy initiatives. For more than 30 years, Congress has let Presidents do it. Now the Churches, Eagletons, Jacksons, Kennedys and Aspins of the new 94th Congress want to be heard—and obeyed. For better or or worse, Senator Eagleton's successful effort to shut-off American assistance to Turkey following its military invasions of Cyprus is one example. Senator Jackson's linkage of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union with trade policy is another. There will be many other such legislative initiatives undertaken this year. Recently, President Ford sought to beckon self-anointed congressional foreign-policy makers into the "no-partisanship" tent, but no one entered. There are no Vandenbergs in the Senate these days. The debits of the "bi-partisanship" foreign policy following World War II outweigh the assets in the minds of an increasing number in Congress —many of whom were adolescents, or younger, when Presidents ruled the foreign-policy roost during the Berlin airlift, the Korean war and the landing of American troops in Lebanon.

What all this means is that there is uncertainty that Kissinger can obtain, as needed, congressional endorsements for whatever arrangements have been agreed to at negotiating tables he is sitting down to these days around the world. This becomes an impediment for the authoritarian (or parliamentary) governments we seek to negotiate with these days—and, equally so, to Kissinger himself.

Nevertheless, members of Congress on strategic legislative committees are more and more insisting that institutionally Congress should be "in on the take-offs, as well as the landings."

This insistence has brought forth anguish from defenders of the old-ways such as Henry Brandon of the (London) *Sunday Times* who in a recent column wrote

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in a vein so stylish in the 1950s: "All this adds up to the realization here that serious questions have arisen in the minds of foreign leaders how far they can rely on a commitment by President Ford or Dr. Kissinger, and that it undermines the credibility of the West."

This hazard for Kissinger's personal fortunes will increase.

There are regions of the world besides the Middle East that should command a greater share of attention. The United States has done little to implement the Shanghai communiqué of 1972, particularly as it applies to Taiwan. Senator Mansfield, the mildest of men, has tactfully and repeatedly expressed his distress at this inaction. Kissinger apparently believes the matter can be let ripen in some fashion. But Mansfield, a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, will undoubtedly raise the matter during this session of Congress—as well as renew his efforts to reduce our troop level in Western Europe.

Another ill-omen is that of the energy question. There is much attention, much of it warranted, upon the mischievous, if not malicious, actions of the oil-producing nations of the Middle East. The developed countries are paying through the nose for oil. The horse has become the rider. Israel's existence is at stake, as the oil baronies seek to impose their prices and their ways upon Western Europe. But, in the long run, the altered relationship between oil-producing states and oil-consuming states signifies a profound and overdue redress between imperial powers and those lands ravaged at will by these same powers, including the United States. The technical skills and arts of diplomacy, at which Kissinger excels, can not master this problem. More than the price of oil is involved. Trumpet calls to "stiffen the backs" of oil-consuming nations will not carry the day. Not Kissinger, nor a planeload of Kissingers, can settle this problem in insulated negotiating rooms—insulated, that is, from the rightful demands of peoples that their natural resources are theirs to dispose of, as they choose, not ours. Expecting Kissinger to harness this new-found freedom at the bargaining table would be as if Metternich had been expected to quell the English Luddites and prevent repeal of the infamous Corn Laws. Historically, "traditional" disagreements can be settled by diplomacy. But not the dynamics of what is being now unleashed within the oil-producing states that involves not only Arab ruler against Arab ruler, but Sadat against Gromyko, Assad against Kissinger, and within these undeveloped Arab countries, the dispossessed against the bloated privileged ones, Sadat and Assad and Faisal and Hussein, and finally, Arafat against them all.

There is an ominous domestic problem of our own that Kissinger's gifted diplomacy can not put down. This is the matter of the House and Senate investigations into the wide-ranging activities of the Intelligence Agency. Has the CIA exceeded its charter? If so, did Kissinger know / encourage / recommend such depredations at home and abroad? The congressional investigations can not be carried out fully without touching on Kissinger—in his roles as Secretary of State and, earlier, as Special Assistant to the President—a President driven from office after his fondness for illegal electronic surveillance and other criminalities was exposed.

Kissinger may provide a diplomatic lean-to or three against the surface winds of disagreement, but not against the social earthquakes beneath our feet.

And, in fairness, it is too much for one man to bear. His adopted country is in the psychic workshop for repairs after its Southeast Asian adventure; the incumbent President is bereft of vision; and congressional government is not the best vessel upon which to put to sea on foreign-affairs missions.

And, so Henry Kissinger is finding himself somewhat in the position of Willy Loman, the salesman, although the two are in no way otherwise analogous. Toward the end of the play, Charley, his friend, explained Willy Loman. With one change in his remarks we could also say of Henry Kissinger:

"He's a man way out there in the blue, riding on a smile and a shoeshine. And when they start not smiling back—that's an earthquake. And then you get yourself a couple of spots on your hat, and you're finished. Nobody dast blame this man. A *statesman* is got to dream, boy. It comes with the territory."

SISYPHUS

JOHN D. ENGLE, JR.

THE BATTLE

The chrysalis does not stay
in its cocoon forever,
but it buys its wings
with prison and with pain.
It must battle its own way
out of its dungeon,
leaving the empty hull
of a conquered self behind.
And birdsong,
trapped in the silent egg,
must become a beak
for breaking loose
before it can leave the shell
of a shattered world
and find its music.

So I must wrestle
my angel down
through muddy midnight
before my darkness
will give way to dawn.

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THE MORAL MEANING OF ISRAEL

MICHAEL NOVAK

There is probably no major world civilization of which educated persons in the West are more ignorant, and toward which they are more condescending, than Arab-Moslem civilization. As a matter of intellectual justice, westerners should nourish a more attentive concern and conceive a long-range plan of serious appreciation for Arab-Moslem culture and its aspirations.

Specific nations in the Arab-Moslem world, like Lebanon, deserve our special loyalties. For generations, the Lebanese have cast their intellectual and cultural energies toward the goals of western cultures, without by any means having abandoned their roots in the history and culture of the Arabic world.

The leaders of other Arabic nations do not want to tie the future of Arabic and Islamic nations to the secular and materialistic cultures of Russia and China. There is much they justly abhor in the western world. Yet some influential leaders and parties see in certain spiritual and political ideals—or, perhaps, liberties—nourished by the West possibilities less threatening to the values they hold dear. They, with us, are "children of Abraham."

In order to affirm the special moral bonds that tie the people of the United States to Israel, it is not necessary to deny the bonds that tie us to the Arab-Moslem world. In times past, and rather consistently indeed, Moslem cultures were more hospitable to Jews than Christian cultures were; during the Spanish Inquisition, the Arab world opened its arms. In the world of politics, moral respect often follows lines of wealth and power; today the Arabs demand, and begin to receive, a just recognition of who they are, what they have been, and yet may be.

Two great symbolic ideals polarize the social systems of the globe. One is represented by the concrete practice of Russia, China and other nations; the other by the concrete practice of the United States, Great Britain, France, and others. In both camps, concrete practice is often at a variance with stated ideals. But, in an imperfect world, even imperfections reveal ideals. In order to support Israel, it is not necessary to force the Arab nations into an alignment with interests and ideals not our own.

The national self-interest of the United States and of the West is still more intimately and profoundly involved in the survival, and even in the health, of the state of Israel.

Israel is, like the U.S., Great Britain, France, Germany, and other western states, an imperfect, human state, not without sin. (Let the nation without sin cast the first stone.) Yet, to the best of its ability, and perhaps in a fashion superior to that of any western state, it tries to exemplify before history the best of the western spiritual, intellectual, political and artistic values.

With all its flaws, and in the midst of that quantum of injustice to which all flesh is heir, Israel is perhaps as fully democratic, as fully socialist, and as fully free in its institutions and in its ideals as any western state. Morally, intellectually, politically, there may be none that is its superior, despite the daily dread of violence and war under which it lives.

The founding of Israel, in its actual working out in the strife of the 1930s and in the embittered struggle of 1947-48 (in which the British Foreign Office played an ugly, subversive role), did not proceed according to the hopes and dreams idealists had entertained. After World War II, hundreds of thousands of Jews were homeless, gaunt, displaced. The UN gave them place; the Arabs, feeling wronged, unwilling to negotiate, chose to fight. Injustice was suffered by, and inflicted by, Israel. Every state in the world, including the United States, Russia, and China, has been born in moral ambiguity. Few have had such advance international legitimation as Israel.

The fate of some 700,000 (and now more) Palestinian refugees, still stateless, still without economic aid from their Arab confreres, still without sufficient economic recompense from Israel and the United Nations, depends upon action by the entire world. Injustice there has been, and Israel, while not fully responsible, is implicated in it; but so is every member of the United Nations. Beautiful in its visions, the UN has been consistently deficient in its defense of its pronouncements. Conceded existence by the UN, Israel had to go to war alone for its survival. In four assaults since then, the UN has put little muscle behind its own decisions; the burden of survival—even of recognition—has been Israel's.

There are problems of justice to be solved in Israel's future, problems that are many-sided and difficult. The enormous wealth of the Arab world—estimated by 1985 to be greater than that of the combined assets of corporations listed on the New York and the American exchanges, and more than sufficient to undermine the economies of Italy, Great Britain, Japan, India and other democratic nations—tempts many "realists" to reevaluate their support of Israel. Already in the war of 1973, all but one in nine European nations turned against Israel. In America, Senator Percy and others are beginning to turn. How far will they go?

Against enormous economic power, and against a population ratio of 130 million to 3 million, Israel's long-range survival is not physically assured. Yet the ideals for which Israel stands are ours: democratic government, western

(*Continued on page 468*)

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INTERVENTION GAME-PLANS FOR THE '70s

MICHAEL T. KLARE

Will 'lightning wars' be fought in strategic locations?

In August 1973, 9,000 U.S. Marines from Camp Lejeune, N.C. were flown to the desert kingdom of Argos to help repel an invasion by Soviet-armed Yarmonian troops. After five days of intense combat in peak summer heat of 120°, the Leathernecks forced the last invaders across the border into Yermo, thus permitting the peace-loving Argosians to return to their profitable work of pumping oil into jumbo tankers.

This incident was, of course, nothing but a training exercise conducted by the Pentagon to familiarize troops with desert warfare conditions. Both the "Argosians" and the "Yarmonians" were played by U.S. servicemen, and "Argos" was a strip of sand carved out of California's Mojave desert. For the participants, however, this exercise—code-named Operation *Alkali Canyon 73*—suggested a very real scenario for future U.S. interventions in the Middle East. Even the Yarmonian uniform, for instance, was patterned on that of the Libyan Army. "The Pentagon has a computer plan for the invasion of every civilized country in the world," Col. Jerry O'Leary of the Mojave training force explained. "The Middle East is the obvious powder keg, and we'd be fools if we didn't prepare."

In mid-1973, a U.S. invasion of the Middle East was not considered particularly plausible and the Mojave exercise was treated more as a "human interest" story than as a serious military event. Sixteen months later, however, *U.S. News & World Report* disclosed that *Alkali Canyon 73* is being carefully reviewed by Pentagon planners, who have been charged with the task of preparing U.S. invasion plans for future Middle East crises. "Top-level Administration policymakers," the magazine reported in its December 2, 1974 issue, "are not holding back from candid discussions of the possibility of armed action by the U.S. if the oil crisis becomes unmanageable." Although military intervention is considered a "last resort" if diplomatic and economic efforts fail to head off another Arab oil embargo, *U.S. News* let it be known that Pentagon officials had already developed scenarios for U.S. landings in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Libya. And while President Ford has denied that such planning is underway, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger told *Business Week* in January, 1975, that U.S. military action would not be ruled out if the OPEC countries threatened "some actual strangulation of the industrialized world."

The possibility of armed intervention in the Middle East has given a new lease on life to the U.S. military establishment. Vietnam had nearly destroyed the internal cohesion of the Armed Forces, and had forced the Nixon administration to abolish conscription and order massive cuts in military manpower authorizations (U.S. Army strength, for instance, was cut nearly in half—from 1.5 million men in 1968 to 785,000 today). Worse still, the unpopular war precipitated the disintegration of America's Cold War ideological consensus which had assured public support for a high rate of military spending and an interventionist posture abroad. Détente, Vietnam, and a succession of military procurement scandals have eroded the public's willingness to subsidize a large, forward-based military apparatus. "National security," former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Maxwell D. Taylor lamented in 1974, "has fallen into disrepute. A victim of complications arising from the

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Vietnam syndrome and from its own internal contradictions, it has come to signify in many minds unreasonable military demands, excessive defense budgets, and collusive dealings within the military-industrial complex." Taylor and other national security managers insist, however, that America's privileged world position compels it to prepare for future wars abroad. At the height of popular enthusiasm for détente, Army Chief of Staff General Creighton Abrams asserted that "It would be very comforting to view the world as some sort of emerging utopia, but to do so one must blot out the problems associated with the growing U.S. dependence on access both to markets and to material sources, especially energy sources, beyond our shores. It [also] means minimizing the awesome reality that formidable military force is in the hands of leaders whose ideologies and purposes are not yet compatible with ours." And in an unusual show of candor, General Taylor added recently: "As the leading 'have' power, we may have to expect to fight for our national valuables against envious 'have nots.' "

What Kind?

If, as this perspective suggests, the United States will be obliged to engage in further armed conflicts abroad, the key question becomes: What kind of force structure is consistent with current political realities and the probable combat environment of the 1970s and '80s? A careful analysis of Pentagon statements and field exercises like *Alkali Canyon 73* suggests that the national leadership is preparing for short, intense wars in selected Third World areas where small but heavily-armed U.S. forces can achieve victory quickly, before the fighting escalates into a major prolonged conflict like Vietnam. The Pentagon scenarios indicate that such "lightning wars" will be fought in strategic locations (particularly the Middle East) where major U.S. "valuables"—oil fields, refineries, mines etc.—are threatened by insurgent forces or nationalistic governments.

A calculated, surgical strategy of this sort has, in theory, distinct advantages for the Military Establishment: the fighting will commence and terminate quickly, and the troops returned to their home bases, long before any significant domestic or international opposition has a chance to mature. Furthermore, such interventions can be justified on the basis of threats to specific "national valuables" rather than as in Vietnam, on the pursuit of ambiguous political or strategic considerations. In a characteristic statement of this new consciousness, one top-level administration official told *U.S. News & World Report*: "The Arabs must be made to realize that 800 million people in America, Europe and Japan are not going to permit their industrial societies to be destroyed by 80 million Arabs."

Even the advocates of this new strategy acknowledge, however, that it possesses many risks. As the October 1973 Mid-East war demonstrated, America's potential adversaries may include powerful, well-trained forces armed with the latest Soviet and European weapons. Egypt committed 100,000 infantrymen and 2,000 tanks to its initial cross-canal assault, and only a last-minute, $1 billion U.S. airlift permitted Israel to regain the offensive and strike back into Egyptian territory. The Syrians, moreover, mounted a stubborn defense to Israeli forces after losing the initiative on the Golan Heights. Clearly, America's own expeditionary forces are likely to face comparable resistance in any future intervention in this area; and, if the United States is to triumph in such a confrontation, it must have sufficient superiority in mobility, firepower and communications to compensate for the manpower advantage of potential enemies. "Our smaller Army," General Abrams observed in 1973, "will not be able to match potential enemies man-for-man and weapon-for-weapon in many likely areas of deployment. We cannot afford an Army large enough to do that, nor can we recruit such an Army." What we need, he asserted, "is the *qualitative edge* that will provide our smaller forces with the combat advantage necessary to insure success" (Emphasis added).

The new defense posture favored by top Pentagon officials calls for the formation of elite brigades based in the United States and at key overseas bases (Okinawa, Germany) capable of being transported to distant trouble-spots on a few hours' notice, and armed with the latest guns, missiles and precision-guided munitions ("smart" weapons). Such forces will have to seize the initiative rapidly—before the enemy can muster his superior manpower; failure to dominate the battlefield quickly could lead to a protracted war which would be costly and provoke widespread domestic resistance. "In the troubled world I have postulated," Taylor wrote in *Foreign Affairs,* "we shall need mobile, ready forces to deter or, in some cases, suppress such conflicts before they expand into something greater." Recognizing that this strategy does contain certain risks, Taylor joined the Pentagon leadership in calling for the development and acquisition of low-yield battlefield nuclear weapons ("mini-nukes") to provide a final hedge against defeat.

* * *

The new Pentagon strategy of using elite shock troops in future interventions abroad can only work, as we have seen, if U.S. troops and equipment can be transported to a distant battlefield *rapidly,* within hours of the onset of the crisis. In the new scenarios now being devised at the Pentagon, U.S.- based units—like the famed 82nd Airborne Division—will be loaded onto giant transport jets and flown non-stop to the combat zone and then rushed into battle. Once the conflict is contained and allied power restored, the U.S. troops will be recalled to the airfield and flown back to their

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bases in the United States. This "Rapid Deployment" scenario was set in motion in October, 1973, when the 82nd Airborne was readied for deployment to Israel during the worldwide military alert called by Henry Kissinger.

While implementation of the Rapid Deployment doctrine has only become practicable with development of jumbo transport jets like the Boeing 747 and the Lockheed C-5A, the strategy itself was first introduced during the last years of the Eisenhower administration. In the report of Panel II of the Rockefeller Brothers Report on America at Mid-Century, Henry A. Kissinger (then a professor at Harvard) wrote that efforts to develop a limited war capability were being hampered by "our lack of mobile forces capable of intervening rapidly and of restoring a local situation before matters get out of hand." If the new strategy is to succeed, he argued, "we require a modern sea lift and air lift capability we do not now possess."

When the Kennedy administration took office three years later, one of the first acts of the new Secretary of Defense, Robert S. McNamara, was to order a substantial expansion of America's airlift capabilities. McNamara, who was undoubtedly familiar with the Rockefeller Brothers Report, proposed formation of "a mobile 'fire brigade' reserve, centrally located . . . and ready for quick deployment to any threatened area in the world." In order to insure that the mobile fire brigade could be transported abroad in sufficient strength, McNamara ordered the production of 284 Lockheed C-141 transport jets and authorized the development of the jumbo C-5A transport.

The C-5A Galaxy jet transport is the world's largest and most powerful airplane. With a full payload of 265,000 pounds, the Galaxy can fly a total distance of 2,875 nautical miles without refueling, and with 100,000 pounds of cargo it can travel up to 6,325 miles. To provide civilians with some sense of the plane's enormous capacity, Senator Barry Goldwater told the Senate in 1969 that "the C-5A could easily accommodate 67 Cadillacs, or six Greyhound buses, or 1,000 people, or 88 Volkswagens." Despite these impressive statistics, the C-5A is probably best known by the public for its mammoth cost "overrun." From an original target price of $3.4 billion for 120 aircraft in 1965, C-5A programs costs jumped to $4.8 billion for only 81 aircraft by 1970.

Unfortunately, the furor over C-5A *costs* has diverted public attention from issues raised by the actual *function* of the plane. Opponents of the program, including Senator William Proxmire, have criticized the contractual arrangements with Lockheed, but tend to avoid discussion of the strategic issues. Only a handful of the plane's backers have, in fact, understood that the C-5A is nothing more nor less than a machine for intervention, and that even 81 Galaxies provide the United States with a significant capability for rapid force deployment abroad. Thus George Murphy, in a 1970 Senate speech, explained that the C-5A "was designed to satisfy the requirement rapidly to deploy fully equipped Army troops anywhere in the world, without the need for intermediate servicing stops, or without the need for sophisticated airport facilities when they arrived at their destination. *We can carry an army,* fully equipped and ready for operation, with great speed to any place in the world" (Emphasis added).

This assessment was vindicated, according to Pentagon officials, during the 1973 Mid-East war, when C-5A transports carried over 10,000 tons of weapons and ammunition to the hard-pressed Israeli army. Between October 14 and November 15, Air Force C-5A's flew a total of 145 missions to Israel, carrying tanks, air-to-surface missiles, antitank weapons, and other munitions needed on the Suez front. This emergency supply effort—the biggest on record—enabled the Israelis to assume the offensive in the Sinai and finally to break through the Egyptian lines along the Suez Canal. This C-5A "success story" is now being celebrated by Air Force officials, who seek Congressional approval for additional C-5A squadrons or for acquisition of militarized 747 jumbo jets.

On the Ground

Although the C-5A and carrier-based aircraft will invest U.S. intervention forces with an unprecedented degree of mobility and airpower, they cannot insure the success of an invasion once troops land on the ground. With a smaller army, and political constraints on the employment of ground forces in protracted campaigns, the Pentagon must insure that any troops sent abroad possess a sufficient advantage in combat effectiveness to overcome superior enemy forces in a relatively brief period of time. This requires, in the view of most Defense analysts, the utilization of America's advanced technology to overcome its deficiency in manpower.

The development of a highly-armed, capital-intensive infantry is also considered essential to the success of the Volunteer Army (VOLAR) program, which relies on material rewards rather than patriotism or fear of the draft to induce enlistments; if the Army is to attract and retain a sufficient pool of dedicated soldiers in a zero-draft environment, it must reduce the risks associated with military service. This outlook, often summarized by the slogan "Firepower—not manpower," was eloquently rendered by General Ellis W. Williamson in a 1971 statement before the Senate Armed Services Committee: "We are making unusual efforts to avoid having the American young man stand toe-to-toe, eyeball-to-eyeball or even rifle-to-rifle against an enemy that might outnumber him on the battlefield. We are trying to fight the enemy with our bullets in-

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stead of the bodies of our young men—'firepower, not manpower'."

The emphasis on firepower and technology is considered even more crucial in the light of the Pentagon's shift in emphasis from "low-intensity" operations in a Third World guerrilla environment to "mid-intensity" combat in a European or Middle East environment where potential enemies are armed with the latest Soviet weapons.

In order to insure that future U.S. intervention forces will be adequately equipped for the new "game" brewing in the southern NATO area, Army Chief of Staff General William C. Westmoreland proposed development of an "Automated Battlefield" utilizing all the latest developments in military technology. "On the battlefield of the future," Westmoreland told the Association of the United States Army in 1969, "enemy forces will be located, tracked, and targeted almost instantaneously through the use of data links, computer-assisted intelligence evaluation and automated fire control. With first round kill probabilities approaching certainty, and with surveillance devices that can continuously track the enemy, the need for large forces to fix the opposition physically will be less important." To enter this happy realm, he added, the Pentagon only had to accelerate its search for technological breakthroughs that would "replace wherever possible the man with the machine."

Various components of the machine-oriented "New Action Army" are now undergoing operational testing and evaluation at selected Army combat laboratories. At Fort Monmouth, N. J., for instance, the Army Electronics Command is testing the use of sensor-equipped "remotely-piloted vehicles" (RPV's) to scan the battlefield for enemy positions. The RPV's, or drones, are small unmanned aircraft controlled by artillery spotters on the ground; data provided by such robot planes could be fed into computerized fire control systems, or used to guide other drones carrying rockets and bombs. According to General Abrams, "the drone would carry television cameras and infrared sensors which can be monitored at a ground station. Once a target was identified, personnel at the ground station would be able to activate on-board lasers to illuminate targets for attack by laser-guided weapons." In this manner, enemy strongpoints can be neutralized without exposing G.I.s to hostile fire.

The Pentagon is also concentrating on techniques for increasing the "kill probability" of existing weapons systems. The objective here is to achieve "first round kill certainty"—i.e., a 100 percent probability that every bullet, shell or missile fired will hit its target and do a thorough job of incapacitation. In the area of small arms, for instance, Army scientists are working on the development of ammunition that will produce certain death no matter what part of any enemy's body is hit. Consideration is being given to rifles that fire "flechettes," or small darts, at very high velocities in order to literally tear a human body to pieces. In the area of tube artillery and missiles, the emphasis is on the design of "terminal homing" devices that can steer a shell to its intended target with pinpoint accuracy. Such projectiles—the Army calls them "smart rounds" after the "smart bombs" used in the air war against North Vietnam—carry a sensor device (infrared or electromagnetic) which "locks on" to a target by "reading," and corrects the flight of a shell so that it lands directly on target. Other proposed smart rounds will "home in" on light beams bounced off the target by a laser gun or "target designator." Terminal homing systems, according to one Army enthusiast, "could produce a quantum jump in cost-effective combat power and a major, perhaps revolutionary change in tactical concepts and organization."

Although the rapid tempo of technological advance suggests that Westmoreland's "automated battlefield" is just around the corner, it is less certain that it will bring all the benefits he attributed to it in 1969. As

long as U.S. forces possess an effective monopoly in such systems it is safe to assume that America will dominate future battlefields; if, however *both* sides possess such weapons, the level of destruction on each side will be very great no matter who "wins" the engagement. Thus Israel clearly triumphed on the Sinai battlefield during the October 1973 fighting—yet Israel's losses in manpower and material were so great as to call into question its capacity to survive another such "victory." Israel lost an estimated 420 tanks and 120 aircraft in less than three weeks—a setback that surely would have crippled Israeli defenses if the United States hadn't launched an emergency resupply effort. (Even America has felt the pinch—the 1,000 tanks sent to Israel during and after the conflict represent three *years* of U.S. tank production.)

Perhaps the greatest innovation of the October War was the massive use of lightweight Soviet precision-guided missiles like the SA-7 heat-seeking missile and the *Snapper, Swatter* and *Sagger* wire-guided antitank missiles. These weapons, which can be carried well into

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the front lines by small infantry units, proved effective against even the most advanced and powerful offensive weapons. Thus while the tank and the fighter-bomber may not have yet lost their battlefield supremacy, Richard J. Levine wrote in the *Wall Street Journal,* "they face new and difficult challenges from defensive missiles that threaten to make future battles much more costly." These weapons do not, moreover, require prolonged training or special skills: the early Egyptian advances were achieved, according to Col. John T. Burke, "by what was supposed to be an 'unsophisticated' army, and by what probably were, for the most part, green troops." The fact is, he warned, "that any troops, no matter how primitive, can become proficient in the employment of precision weapons with relatively little training." Thus the proliferation of such systems in Third World armies threatens to neutralize the superior firepower and "professionalization" of America's machine-oriented "Army of the Future."

* * *

The fear that America's ground forces may be "outgunned" in future interventions abroad has given added impetus to Pentagon efforts to acquire a new generation of small tactical nuclear munitions—or "mini-nukes." Such weapons combine low-yield (1 kiloton or less) thermonuclear warheads with precision-guided projectiles ("smart bombs") to produce a weapons system theoretically capable of knocking out enemy assault units with minimum "collateral damage" (i.e., destruction of adjacent towns and cities). Production of such munitions has become possible in the past few years as a result of an intensive Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) effort to produce light, compact atomic explosives. (Many of the new mini-nukes can be carried by one man in a small knapsack.) The Army now seeks to procure ammunition of this sort for its field artillery and such short- and medium-range tactical missiles as *Lance* and *Pershing*. In defending these plans, General Abrams told Congress in 1974 that the Army urgently needs "an improved family of tactical nuclear artillery weapons to provide the field commander the precise ability to inflict damage on his enemy with greatly decreased collateral damage to non-military targets."

The Army's plan to acquire a new stockpile of atomic munitions came to light in May 1973, when Senator Stuart Symington—then a recent appointee to the Joint Atomic Energy Committee—revealed that the Army had requested an appropriation of $904 million for procurement of nuclear ammunition for its 155-mm. and 8-in. artillery pieces. At Symington's insistence, the AEC and Department of Defense agreed to furnish witnesses for an intensive examination of the Pentagon's mini-nuke program. In testimony before the Joint Committee, the AEC's Assistant General Manager for military programs, Air Force General Edward B. Giller, acknowledged that the Pentagon planned to acquire several thousand mini-nukes over the next few years at a cost of "a couple of billion dollars." Giller suggested that the new atomic shells—costing $100,000 or more apiece—would provide "a sharpened nuclear sword with a lot less attendant casualties."

During the unprecedented hearings called by Symington, Pentagon strategists asserted that America's current stockpile of tactical nuclear weapons (7,000 of which are stored in Europe) have extremely high yields —as much as five times the explosive force of the 20-kiloton bomb dropped on Hiroshima during World War II—and are essentially indistinguishable from the "city-busters" in the strategic nuclear stockpile. Yields of this magnitude, they argued, would produce enormous civilian casualties on *both* sides in any European conflict as well as increase the risk of an all-out nuclear response by Moscow, and thus their use would probably be deemed unacceptable by most NATO members. Mini-nukes, on the other hand, are viewed as precise battlefield weapons whose use could be confined to discrete military targets—thus making them more acceptable to our European allies. "Much of our current (tactical nuclear) inventory, based on the technology of 10-20 years ago, consists of weapons with unnecessarily high yields," former NATO commander General Andrew J. Goodpaster observed. "Achievable new weapons of lower yields and of greater accuracy could increase military effectiveness while reducing possible collateral damage, thereby increasing their utility as well as the *acceptability* in NATO planning for employment in the NATO countries and the adjacent areas in which they would most likely be used" (Emphasis added).

This argument has an obvious attraction for Pentagon strategists who have long lamented the widespread inhibition against the employment of nuclear weapons. By categorizing mini-nukes as front-line weapons that could be used to avert an all-out thermonuclear exchange, these strategists hope to promote the "thinkability" of atomic warfare. Many Pentagon officials also describe small nuclear warheads as being essentially interchangeable with large conventional munitions in an effort to blunt popular sensitivity to their use. Indeed, General Giller has even gone so far as to suggest that in some situations mini-nukes would produce fewer civilian casualties than conventional munitions: "We can make these nuclear weapons small enough," he told the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, "so that the casualties from conventional warfare in some cases will be higher per target attacked. As an example this would apply to conventional area bombing and to artillery barrages." Although the Nixon administration stated that "the U.S. Government has no intention whatsoever to treat such tactical systems as interchangeable with conventional arms," many critics—including Swedish disarmament expert Alva Myrdal—have charged that the deployment of low-yield nuclear artillery shells threatens to obliter-

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ate the critical "firebreak" between conventional and nuclear weapons.

* * *

The Pentagon's new intervention plans, as we have seen, call for small U.S. forces to seize the initiative quickly and to employ every advantage in firepower, mobility and communications to overcome more numerous enemy forces. This strategy has many obvious dangers, but surely the gravest is the desperately narrow margin of safety that has been built into the manpower/firepower equation. If in some future crisis an American intervention force is routed by indigenous forces, the U.S. command will have no alternatives but surrender or escalation. And, with such small manpower resources, the most likely form of escalation is in firepower. Unlike the situation it faced in South Vietnam, the Pentagon cannot raise or lower troop levels in response to enemy initiatives but must employ increasingly potent and lethal weaponry. Such a course can only lead to widespread civilian destruction (as in the December 1972 B-52 raids on Hanoi) and the danger of precipitating a nuclear conflict.

This dangerous situation is further complicated by the administration's policy of easing U.S. balance-of-payments difficulties by selling advanced military equipment to the oil kingdoms and other potential adversaries. Already, the United States has sold Iran "everything short of the atomic bomb" (to quote one State Department official), and negotiations now underway with Saudi Arabia and Kuwait will lead to multi-billion dollar sales of sophisticated armaments to those countries. Clearly, we are headed to a "point of no return" where no U.S. advantage in technology can head off a major military disaster.

IS COLLISION INEVITABLE?

RAMSDELL GURNEY, JR.

Soviet-American relations and the Middle East

Four times since World War II and twice within the past decade the Arabs and Israelis have engaged in full-scale war. Each of the last three conflicts has precipitated a serious diplomatic confrontation replete with the seeds of a military showdown between the world's two superpowers—the Soviet Union and the United States. Why should a local quarrel in the Middle East, an area of seemingly little intrinsic value to Moscow or Washington, carry such high stakes as to place mankind periodically on the brink of nuclear holocaust?

The broad answer is simple enough. The Soviet Union and the United States became involved in Middle East affairs because they perceived this action to be in their respective national interests. However, the particulars of these interests and how they were determined are far more difficult to ascertain. My purpose here is briefly to review the origin and nature of the Soviet and American involvements and thereby shed light on the entire Middle East question and its impact on global affairs. The term "Middle East," as used in this article, includes the following countries: the non-Arab states of Turkey, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, and Kuwait, Yemen, South Yemen, U.A.R., Muscat, and Oman, and the Federation of Arab Gulf Emirates.

The Soviet Union's interest in the Middle East is long-standing, going back at least to the reign of Peter the Great (1689-1725). From Peter's time forward the allure of warm-water ports for Russia in the area known today as the "Middle East" has been so great as to occupy a central position in both Tsarist and Soviet foreign policy. Because Russia was, and is, largely a land-locked, continental power, the rulers realized that if Russia were to expand its influence and hegemony, it needed access to the seas. Peter, following a long and enervating war against Sweden, succeeded in gaining a port on the Baltic and with it a "window into Europe." Ports on the Baltic, however, are accessible for a limited time during the year because of the area's extreme cold, and therefore Peter also attempted to push south to obtain warm-water ports on the Black Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Persian Gulf. Peter did not achieve his objectives, but his reign established the precedent: an "urge to the sea" in the Middle East.

Over the next two centuries and a half, Russia was able to extend its natural boundaries east to the Pacific Ocean and south to the Black and Caspian seas. Nevertheless, the country was still excluded from the vital Mediterranean area since its fleets would have to pass through the Turkish straits, an avenue blocked by Turkey with the enthusiastic support of the Russo-phobic Western powers, England, France and Austria. An unrelenting quest to acquire some sort of control over these

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straits as well as eventual access to warm-water ports therefore became cardinal Russian policy. Even the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917, despite an early governmental renunciation of all territorial claims, did not for long sidetrack the country from pursuit of this by then well-established objective.

Stalin, for example, showed strong interest in the Middle East and initiated in 1945 two bold but unsuccessful strokes to acquire Soviet footholds at the expense of Iran and Turkey. It was Nikita Khrushchev, however, a practical and ambitious man anxious both to advance his country's interest and to strengthen his own political position, who finally put the Russians into the Middle East. How did this transpire?

Te begin with, the situation Krushchev faced upon securing power in early 1955 was an untoward one indeed. The Soviet Union was virtually surrounded by an American-led military glacis—NATO, SEATO, and a burgeoning parallel organization in the Middle East to be known as METO or simply the "Baghdad Pact." For Khrushchev, these interlocking alliance systems constituted a kind of *Cordon Sanitaire* which not only posed a serious threat to Soviet security, but also weakened Moscow's diplomatic stance on all global issues. In realistic terms, the best way to neutralize this *Cordon Sanitaire* was to forge a counter-alliance system which would help redress the balance of power. Since the only area where such alliances might be found in the postwar world existed among the emerging third-world nations, especially in the Middle East, these would become Khrushchev's main target. Moreover, as Khrushchev well knew, a successful entry into the Middle East would realize for his country all those benefits so coveted by his predecessors as far back as Peter The Great.

Khrushchev attacked the problem by conjointly updating ideology and taking new policy steps. Ideologically, he proclaimed that Stalin's "capitalist encirclement" had been replaced by a large "zone of peace," in which "national bourgeoisie" regimes—such as existed in some Middle East states—could play a significant role both in liberation movements and in the evolution toward socialism. To them the Soviet Union must become both a model of social progress and a generous benefactor. At the same time, he announced that the Soviet Union could no longer remain "indifferent to the situation taking shape in the Near and Middle East" which had a direct and harmful "bearing on the security of the USSR." Therefore, the Soviet government would now assume a "positive attitude" toward those Middle East countries seeking "to strengthen their national independence and to promote peace and friendly cooperation among peoples . . ." In short, Khrushchev had made it undeniably clear that Russia was resuming its historic attempts to penetrate the area, only now under a Marxist-Leninist-Khrushchevist banner.

Khrushchev's new policy rapidly gathered momentum —and successes. Moscow conspicuously threw its full support behind the Afro-Asian Bandung Conference, also meeting in April, which took a strong stand against Western colonialism. Five months later, in September, Colonel Abdel Nasser, who had seized power in Egypt in 1952, startled the Western world with his announcement of a military and technical assistance agreement with Czechoslovakia. The latter, of course, was surrogating for the Soviet Union, and the following year Nasser admitted he had actually concluded the transaction with the Kremlin.

The importance of the Egyptian arms deal cannot be exaggerated. It provided Khrushchev with a vehicle for entering and exerting influence on the Middle East and it determined that the Soviet Union would soon be the main supplier of weapons to the Arabs and the United States to the Israelis, thus triggering an arms race continuing through the present day. Moreover, it enabled the USSR to leap-frog the western military glacis assembled along the Soviet southern extremities and to outflank NATO in the process. A fitting commentary on the ultimate success of Khrushchev's efforts in the area was later provided by none other than Brezhnev and Kosygin, who, after deposing Khrushchev in 1964, not only retained his basic policy but expanded it.

The U.S. Role

For its part, the United States began to involve itself in Middle East affairs partly in response to Stalin's aggressive moves against Iran and Turkey immediately after World War II and partly to gain access to oil reserves. To a large extent, this involvement was motivated by two specific fears: fear of the rising momentum of Arab nationalism which appeared to threaten Western economic interests, especially since England and France were too exhausted to sustain their presence; and fear of Soviet expansionism. In a strict sense, then, the Middle East was not vital to American national interests but rather a convenient area for profiteering in oil and combating Communism. Nonetheless, Washington's commitment was adamant: in 1947 the Sixth Fleet was placed on continuous duty in the Mediterranean and the Truman Doctrine, a massive economic and military aid program to Turkey and Greece for the purpose of containing Communism, was announced. It is worth noting though, that unlike the Soviet Union, the active American entrance into the Middle East was entirely a post-World War II development.

During the 1950s, in marked contrast to Khrushchev's Middle East policy, American diplomacy lapsed into a paralyzing malaise. Much of the problem rested with Secretary of State John Foster Dulles (1953-59), who had been allowed a virtual free hand in conducting foreign policy by President Eisenhower. The Secretary,

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who believed himself on moral crusade, proceeded to shape a one-dimensional policy directed at combating Communism or alleged Communism throughout the world. This moved the United States increasingly into the Israeli camp as many of the Arab-States were identified with the Soviet Union, and left no room for neutralism which Dulles contemptuously described as an "immoral and shortsighted conception." Ironically, therefore, Washington's approach to the Middle East was premised on the kind of futile Manichean outlook which Stalin had embraced but which Khruschchev had discarded. And to make matters worse, the Dulles legacy with all its anti-Arabic ingredients continued to be the basis of American policy until into the 1970's.

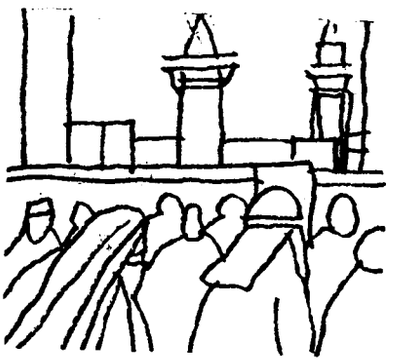
Furthermore, it was also in the Dulles-Khrushchev years that the Middle East became a major international "hotspot." This was brought about by the steady growth of Soviet-American rivalry in a region already volatile because of the deep-rooted and passionate enmity of Arab and Jew. Global crises were the inevitable product.

The first global crisis in the Middle East, of course, erupted in 1956 with the "Suez War." Although the fighting was quickly terminated, the certainty that more and worse crises would follow was guaranteed by the sharp acceleration of the area arms race in the Suez aftermath. Moscow, for example, immediately commenced restoring the Egyptian arsenal, and soon thereafter became a regular supplier of weapons to Syria and Iraq. The weapons offered for purchase were usually of high quality but not, until recently, the first-line equipment of the Soviet armed forces. For the Israelis the acquisition of arms was somewhat more complex. But through ingenuity and persistence, they were able to buy aircraft from France and other weapons from England, West Germany and the United States. The United States remained initially cautious in its arms commitments, but gradually enlarged them and finally became Israel's principal supplier after the June 1967 war.

The next serious crisis was the June War of 1967. The circumstances here are particularly instructive because they underscore the potential in Middle East politics, a potential still existing, for igniting global conflict. All available evidence suggests that the war developed independently of the Soviet Union and the United States. The provocative closing of the Straits of Tiran by Nasser, for instance, was not coordinated with the Kremlin beforehand, just as the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956 was not given prior approbation by Khrushchev. Likewise, Israel's sudden, devastating air strikes which annihilated the air forces of Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Iraq in less than 24 hours and determined the military outcome, were not cleared with Washington; the Israeli assault was a pre-emptive one decided solely in Tel Aviv. In short, the "Six Day" war and concomitant tension between Moscow and Washington was more a consequence of both powers losing control of a situation than in instigating it. Fortunately, the fighting ended before the Soviet Union and the United States had become inextricably and perhaps fatefully involved.

The other major and most recent crisis was the 1973 Yom Kippur War. The role of the superpowers in this affair, specifically the USSR, appears somewhat more ambiguous. While it cannot be tangibly demonstrated that either the United States or the Soviet Union wanted another war, a defensible case can be made that Moscow approved—if not encouraged—the Egyptian attack. This assumes one vital premise: that Egypt's objective was limited.

A viable "limited objective" thesis could be constructed as follows: Egypt's purpose was to capture and secure the East Bank of the Suez Canal and if possible to extend the perimeter at least 5-10 kilometers inland. Then, with Egypt holding both banks of the Canal, that important waterway could be reopened. This would bring obvious economic benefits to Egypt while



facilitating Soviet naval ingress to the Indian Ocean, cutting the supply route now originating in Vladivostok by 9,000 miles. Furthermore, a victory of this sort, besides entailing few military risks, would boost flagging Arab morale as well as legitimize the Soviet advisers whom Egyptian President Sadat had reinvited after expelling them in 1972 over Moscow's hesitancy to deliver promised arms and equipment.

As events turned out, the Egyptians failed militarily, yet obtained most of their objectives anyway at the conference table as a Soviet-American-supported step toward a general Arab-Israeli settlement. But the point is that no evidence exists that the Kremlin had precipitously undertaken a new and reckless approach. Nevertheless, the high stakes elicted by superpower maneuvering in the Middle East were again manifested when the United States government, citing concern over possible Soviet intervention in the fighting, ordered its military forces on worldwide "precautionary alert" (Oct. 26).

Still, despite the obvious risks and obligations, involvement in the Middle East for the Soviet Union has reaped considerable rewards with future prospects even

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brighter. To appreciate the stake, one needs only look at examples of what the Middle East has come to mean in the Soviet scheme of things.

First of all, probably the most significant accomplishment in the Middle East since Khrushchev has been the presence of the Soviet navy in Mediterranean waters. Although the size of the Soviet Mediterranean flotilla is small (but growing), it is important to Moscow as a symbol of expanding global potential, as a means to add credibility for Soviet support of the Arabs, and as a burgeoning counterweight to the traditional Western hegemony there, now represented by the U.S. Sixth Fleet. Yet without substantial political influence in the Middle East, there would be no Soviet flotilla in the Mediterranean. Moreover, realizing old Russian historical goals, Soviet warships now regularly pass through the Turkish straits with almost automatic Turkish permission, and then dock at recently acquired port facilities in the eastern Mediterranean, North Africa, along the Red Sea, and northward into the Persian Gulf.

Another admittedly more hypothetical criterion for assessing the value Moscow attaches to its Middle East presence can be found in the effects of the oil embargo and price hike imposed by the Arab states following the Yom Kippur War. No direct complicity on the part of the Kremlin can be proven—though the Soviets apparently did urge the Arab governments not to terminate the boycott or cut back prices. But that the USSR benefited from its influence in the area and also stands to gain considerably in the long run is not open to question.

For example, in the wake of the more than quadrupling of the per barrel cost of oil since the war, the Arabs will probably use some of these additional profits to restock their arsenals with purchases from the USSR —totaling several billion dollars. Translated, this means that the NATO countries of Western Europe and Japan are paying the Soviets to supply the Arabs with the weaponry and equipment necessary to fight Israel. Second, the new, high oil prices have contributed to severe dislocations (e.g., inflation) in the economies of Europe, the United States and Japan. The consequences will likely include the weakening of NATO since only financially viable nations can support a sound security system as well as a compensatory acceleration of detente which means more Western technology for the Soviets. And third, despite the fact that the USSR is currently a net exporter of oil (primarily to its East European satellites), it is estimated that by the 1980s the rate of oil consumption in the Soviet Union will outstrip that of oil production. If this estimate is accurate, then it seems logical that Moscow would seek to assure itself and its allies an alternate oil source (*viz.* the Middle East) at least until the vast reserves in Siberia can be exploited.

In the final analysis, then, what can be said about the present course of Soviet policy and rivalry with the United States in the Middle East? To begin with, straightforward national security considerations are probably the prime determinant of Soviet actions in the region. In other words, decisions are reached largely in light of perceived actual or potential exterior threats, although geopolitical and power factors are certainly important. This would suggest that Moscow would accept a political solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, contingent of course on the non-exclusion of the USSR from the area and a prudent American diplomacy which takes cognizance of Soviet security concerns. Beyond this, it seems safe to say that the Soviet Union will certainly protect its Middle East foothold, a foothold desired by Russian rulers for over two centuries and which has paid the kind of handsome dividends befitting an ambitious, global superpower.

As for the United States, Washington continues to frame its Middle East policy on the basis of relatively fixed economic and political interests. The economic interest centers on the desire to maintain a sufficient flow of Arab oil at a tolerable price until the United States achieves energy independence, a goal set for 1980. The disruptive effects of the recent oil embargo and price elevations by the Arab governments graphically underscore the dangers inherent in any permanent Western reliance on Middle East oil. They also elucidate the liabilities of a single track, pro-Israeli diplomacy.

Politically, the United States still seeks to reduce or check Soviet influence and increase its own, but now no longer by the previous, unsuccessful method of indiscriminate support for the Israelis. Over the past few years and especially since the Yom Kippur war, the United States has learned that its political and economic objectives can better be served by a regional policy encompassing the broad interests of both Arab and Jew. Secretary of State Kissinger's peripatetic diplomacy in the first half of 1974 resulting in disengagement accords between Israel and Egypt (January) and Israel and Syria (May) followed in June by former-President Nixon's ceremonial excursion through the Middle East, perfectly illustrate the changing American approach. Although the United States retains special ties with Israel, as does the Soviet Union with the Arabs, the new diplomacy has already borne fruit: the oil embargo has been lifted, U.S.-Arab relations in general (particularly with Egypt, Syria, and Algeria) have markedly improved, and Moscow's overall Middle East influence has been at least slightly diminished. Sadat confirmed the last point when he announced in April that Egypt was committed to non-alignment and has decided to end more than 18 years of sole dependence on the USSR for arms supplies.

But at the same time, American relations with the Arabs remain clouded due to the oil price issue. Washington has already made it clear that henceforth oil will be an important factor in policy-making toward the

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pertinent Arab states. Recently, both President Ford and Secretary Kissinger went so far as to warn that food, including related technical assistance, might become an instrument of retaliation. For example, challenging the oil producing nations to define their needs "without imposing unacceptable burdens on the international monetary and trade system," Ford declared in an address to the United Nations on September 19 that "it has not been our policy to use food as a political weapon despite the . . . recent oil . . . decision." He went on to say that should these nations persist in their approach, they would become victims of their own actions.

Yet, and this needs to be emphasized, both Soviet and American Middle East policy are formulated with each other very much in mind. For so long as the region continues to be largely polarized and viewed as some sort of proving ground between the Soviet Union and the United States, then the stakes will automatically appear critical and render periodic superpower collisions inevitable. And, as the history of the Middle East evidences, the real danger of one of these collisions exploding into nuclear war derives from the possibility of Moscow and Washington miscalculating and falling prey to a vortex of events they neither comprehend nor can control.

HARKENING TO ARKIN

THE SCREEN

Apparently the guy in the driver's seat gets top billing. In *Freebie and the Bean* it is James Caan who always drives the patrol car, so the character he plays comes first in the film's title, and his partner, played by Alan Arkin, is second. In *Rafferty and the Gold Dust Twins,* it's the other way round. Arkin does all the driving this time so his character comes first, and the co-stars, Sally Kellerman and Mackenzie Phillips, are second. Truth to tell, though, it makes no difference as far as Arkin is concerned. Whether he's doing the driving or not, he's still just coming along for the ride. That's his nature, his character, and it doesn't vary much from picture to picture no matter what the role is.

Or rather, the character may vary, but the situation in which he finds himself, the world in which he lives, doesn't. That's why he always stays the same no matter what he does. In *Rafferty and the Gold Dust Twins,* what sort of world this is is established as soon as the credits are over. Leaving the house to drive to work in the morning, Rafferty reveals himself to be the world's worst driver. His car is a rolling safety hazard with its muffler leaking, its doors wired shut, etc. He rams into a parked motorcycle, bounces over the curb, runs a stop sign, turns from the wrong lane without signaling, and is on his way.

And what is the job to which he is driving? It's with the California Department of Motor Vehicles, of course. Rafferty gives driving tests to license applicants. In the world in which an Arkin character lives, one always rises to his highest level of incapacity. It is once again the world of Yossarian in *Catch-22,* except that this comedy is more down-beat than that one. Unlike Yossarian, Rafferty rolls with the punch and moves with the action as best he can. But the action itself is pretty much the same.

At bottom this is a world of random victimization, a world in which such victimization has become a way of life, the order—or rather, disorder—of the day. On his lunch break in a park, Rafferty retrieves a frisbee for some girls who then return the courtesy by kidnapping him at gunpoint. More extraordinary, however, is that when Rafferty escapes from their clutches, he can't stand his recovered liberty. As soon as he is clear of them, he turns right around and drives back to find them again, so they can all continue the cross-country junket the girls had been forcing him to take them on. It all goes to show how completely absorbed in victimhood Rafferty is—how completely unable to do without victimization. These girl's kidnapping of him is obviously the first thing that has given his life any meaning since he retired as a "lifer" from the Marine Corps.

In *Freebie and the Bean* people seem no less accustomed to unprovoked, unexpected assaults. They behave as if such assaults were as commonplace for them as sniper attacks were for the characters in *Little Murders,* where Arkin made a whole career of unsuccessfully investigating random violence. At one point in this film, for instance, the two policemen know that a hit man is to make an attempt on the life of a racketeer whom they are trying to obtain an indictment against. To protect the racketeer for themselves they stake out the barber shop where he's getting a haircut, and when a car with Michigan plates pulls up, having been tipped off the hit man is from Detroit, Freebie and Bean jump the driver along with a female accomplice waiting on the sidewalk. Predictably, these people turn out to be unsuspecting tourists, not hired assassins. Remarkably, their reaction to Freebie and Bean's attack is almost ferocious and effective enough to be professional anyhow. It seems that in this society John Doe has had so much experience as the random victim, he's developed a real instinct for it.

It's true that Arkin here plays the attacker rather than, as with Rafferty, the one attacked. But he has allowed himself to cross that line before—most notably in *Wait Until Dark*—perhaps because it's a line that so often proves nebulous in his films. In *Freebie and the Bean* everyone is just an innocent bystander like that couple outside the barber shop, and that includes the Bean too. Although the whole film takes place in one

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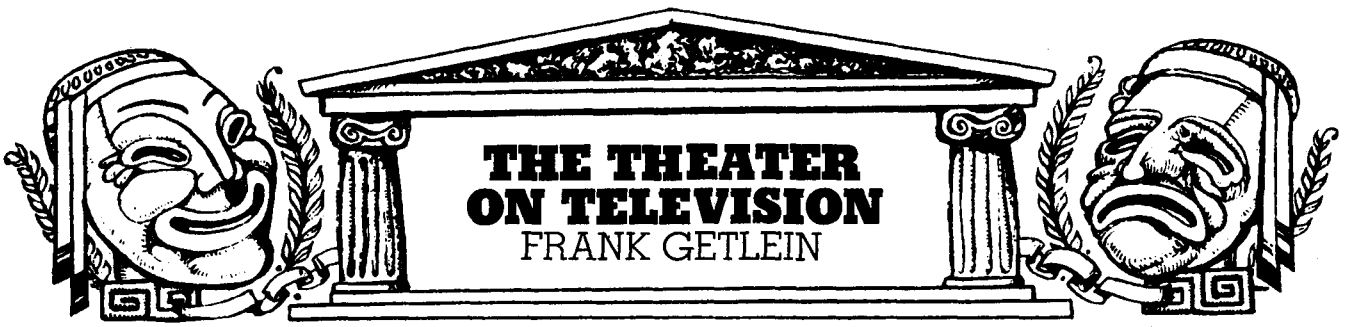
city, it is really as much a road picture as *Rafferty and the Gold Dust Twins*. Director Richard Rush has used his scenario as a pretext for so many extravagant chase scenes that we spend as much time driving here as with Rafferty. Nothing mass-produces innocent bystanders, random victims, more readily than a movie chase, and Rush takes the fullest possible advantage of this.

"Cut to the chase" used to mean cut to some deserted area where the hero and the villain could go it alone, flat out. But nowadays the chase almost always occurs in a heavily congested urban location where the maximum possible number of human obstacles can get in the way. In effect, the culprit gets lost in the crowd and the point of the chase becomes not to catch him, but just to clear the by-standers out of the way. (Like all movie conventions, a chase scene has to work on a very visceral level as a metaphor, a fantasy, for the frustrations the audience feels in real life.) At one point Freebie and Bean's patrol car careens through the wall of a building into the bedroom of an old couple who haven't even been aware a chase was in progress. That car's coming to rest at the foot of the old couple's bed is an image of the total vulnerability of us all. Like the man and woman outside the barbershop, the old couple seems used to such things. While Freebie uses their phone to call in, they just go on eating the snack which his arrival interrupted.

The Bean is in truth almost as innocent a victim of Freebie's reckless driving as the old couple because, as I said, he's only along for the ride. The wreck leaves the same expression on his face that is on theirs, an expression uncertainly that of someone either being calm in the face of disaster or else going into shock. How little difference it makes which side of the equation Arkin starts out on is shown by the fact that he ends up in exactly the same predicament in both of these films. In *Rafferty and the Gold Dust Twins* he ends up in the middle, as usual, with one of the twins on one side brandishing a gun and a cop on the other side. In *Freebie and the Bean* the end comes when Bean moves in to arrest that racketeer and unknowingly becomes an interloper, an innocent bystander, in a stickup. That Arkin is shot for his trouble in one of those contretemps and walks away from the other unscathed hardly seems to matter. His never was a world in which such subtle distinctions seemed to count for much anyway.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.



On the other hand, the state of the theater on television has never been as good as it is right now. This is almost entirely due to Public Television and to the British. So frivolous on the stage, both American and English, on the tube the Brits are the soul of seriousness, high purpose and superb performance not for its own sake but for the sake of dramatic reality.

The best known of the British-PBS productions is surely "Upstairs Downstairs," presented by the Masterpiece Theater out of Boston. The show got its name from a whole series of dramatizations the BBC did of great novels, mostly 19th and early 20th century, ranging from Henry James to Wilkie Collins. Then it got into Dorothy Sayers, of whose works it has done three or four, though so far none of what are regarded as her "masterpieces" of the mystery genre, such as "The Nine Tailors."

Then a couple of unemployed British actresses—Jean Marsh and Eileen Atkins—asked themselves why they didn't have a television series to fall back on when times were bad, realized that they both came from families "in service" and the rest is history. "Upstairs Downstairs" has been running ever since, with this season's 13 installments just over and just about due for a first re-run. There are books on each of the principal characters; there have been references to them in *New Yorker* cartoons; Jean Marsh, in whirlwind taping tours, has proved the most reliable hawker of memberships in public television.

"Upstairs Downstairs" is generally criticized as high-class soap opera, but it is no such thing. The whole point of soap opera is that it never ends; nothing is ever resolved; people fade away to be replaced by others; dialogue is incredibly slow; very little actual dramatic ground is covered in any single installment. "Upstairs Downstairs" is entirely different. Each 50-minute or so installment is an actual drama with a

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beginning, middle and end. The writing, of course, is infinitely superior to soap opera. The whole thing catches a society in a period of profound change and watches the change take place. There have been few if any "throwaway" chapters of "Upstairs Downstairs," installments presented only because they were fun to write, to act and, for that matter, to watch. Everything has paid its way.

The Brits are also responsible for the best we've had this season in theater on the commercial networks. This, of course, was the brilliant production of "Antony and Cleopatra" by the Royal Shakespeare Company, better known on the American stage this year for such bonbons as "Sherlock Holmes" and "The London Assurance."

The "Antony and Cleopatra" was presented by ABC, which seems to be trying to become the quality network on the grounds that it hasn't the money to be bad enough to grab the ratings. The Royal Shakespeare's reading may have been the definitive one for our time. It rescued the play from its long history as a tale of star-crossed lovers and the world well lost for love. It restored, even emphasized, the vital political aspect of the play.

What is really happening in the play is that Octavius is transforming himself from Caesar to Augustus and Antony and Cleopatra get in the way. By the end of the play they are dead and the transformation is complete.

The production made this movement entirely clear. Octavius and the Romans are dressed, for instance, in sober, puritanical white, as opposed to the rich oriental stuffs Antony finds everywhere around him in Egypt. Octavius is thus seen as using the surviving Republican virtues—sobriety, prudence, hard work and so on—to wrap up the Republic, while Antony's oriental decadence anticipates what the emerging empire shall become.

All of this from the *mise-en-scène*—beautifully done with no real sets, just lights and fabrics and marvelous props—but however good it is, *mise-en-scène* remains only that; Shakespeare is language in action. In the title parts, Richard Johnson and Janet Suzman were magnificent, she mistress of survival as an art form, amusedly tolerant of Antony's passion, he torn between his own imperial ambitions and the temptations of the Orient and of personal fulfillment.

The best speech in the play, one of the best in Shakespeare, is that of Antony's lieutenant, Enobarbus, the one that begins "The barge she sat in" and climaxes in "Age cannot wither her nor custom stale her infinite variety." It has all too often been treated as a set-piece and indeed it is worth hearing as such. As Enobarbus, Patrick Stewart gave the lines all they demand but he also—and, of course. the director, Jon Scofield—kept them within the dramatic frame. We are made to watch Agrippa throughout the speech because as he watches Enobarbus he realizes that his patched-up truce between Antony and Octavius will not last. It is this kind of dramatic sensitivity that illumined every point of the Royal Shakespeare Company production.

ABC has also been responsible for the burgeoning of its own self-styled "Theater of Fact," which, as the name implies, goes back to the WPA's "Living Newspaper" for its ancestry, with a stop along the way at early television drama out of the week's news.

"Theater of Fact" is an interesting idea that if it hasn't quite hit a stride yet, that's the fault more of the material it has been trying to tackle than of the quality of work which has been excellent in most particulars. The form began for ABC with the "Pueblo" story, opened this season with "The Missiles of October" and most recently has done "Judgment: The Court-Martial of Lt. Calley."

The missile show recreated the whole Kennedy court as well as the Kremlin crowd of Howard da Sylva's Khrushchev. The show successfully recreated the day-by-day drama we all lived through, at least in Washington, during the long-distance confrontation over Russian missiles in Cuba. (One of the few flaws in versimilitude was the use of "Cuba" for "Cuber" in the White House.) As in the original, it was only after it was all over that one reflected it made such acceptable drama because it was such appalling conduct of foreign policy.

The Calley show was the opposite in a sense, a dramatic failure because most of the important drama was happening off-stage, not at the trial at Fort Benning of the lieutenant at the bottom of the buck-stops-here ladder. The program did more than hint at what had to have happened offstage—at various headquarters in Vietnam, at the Pentagon—but it was offstage and only the Greeks can get away with keeping so much of the action out of sight.

PBS remains the great source of drama on the tube, with two principal vehicles, Hollywood Television Theater and Theater in America.

Hollywood Television Theater is invariably expertly produced and beautifully acted, but it clicks only about half the time and this margin of failure seems to be directly related to the dominant taste—which must be that of the show's executive producer, Norman Lloyd, for significant dramas that tackle the ultimate questions about life and death and where do we go from here and would it be worth it after all and so on and so on.

About half the time, the program gets a play of this kind that works and everything is marvelous. Such was its production of "The Lady's Not For Burning," with Richard Chamberlain and Eileen Atkins; such, too, was the quite unexpected "Steambath," with God as a Puerto Rican bath attendant and the clientele finding themselves sheeted and steaming much as, two generations ago, a similar clientele found themselves "Outward Bound" on Charon's greyhound of the North Atlantic.

At least as often, however, Lloyd or whoever does the picking comes up with a bomb, such as this season's "Chinese Ambassador" with the wasted crystal talents of Judith Anderson and, more lately, the unspeakable "For the Use of the Hall," redeemed only by the appearance of Aline MacMahon, who provided, out of her head and heart, not the script, the one note of dignity and intelligence the play had.

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It is tempting to speculate that something about Los Angeles and Hollywood brings on such ambitions to scale the heights of universal significance and never settle for such mundane stories as those of salesmen at the end of the road, blacks trying to work out of the ghetto, Irish coping with civil war or Russians contemplating the approach of apocalypse.

Those latter things and others like them are indeed settled for and to great advantage by the PBS theater venture from the opposite end of the country, "Theater in America" from New York's WNET. The plays, the players and the productions are endlessly varied because the series is in effect a continuing survey of what used to be called regional or little theater and what we don't really have an up-to-date name for. Professional groups in Washington, New York, Rhode Island, San Francisco, New Haven and elsewhere provide this season's fare. One message is that that's where theater in America is now: all over the place. Public television reassembles the audience Broadway has lost: actually, PBS creates that national audience for the first time with a truly national theater, one that exists all over the place and with a widely varied taste, taking its unity only in a dedication to theatrical excellence.

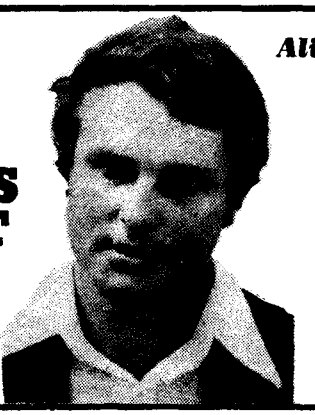
Is television theater at all, however, the question may well be raised and the answer would have to be, it depends. It is a commonplace of movie history that plays do not make good movies: they are physically static, claustrophobic in setting, loggerhead in dialogue, all characteristics working against any definition of movies ever proposed by anyone except Andy Warhol, who is, to put it charitably, a special case.

Television, however, is different from movies in a number of important ways, despite the fact that week in, week out, the best shows on most commercial channels are likely to be old or new movies. Those differences, it seems to me, add up to television as possibly the best thing to happen to *drama*—if not the theater—since the fireproof stage curtain.

The first time drama presented itself to me as a strong possibility on television was, I must confess, not on television at all, but in the Russian movie of a few years ago of *Uncle Vanya*. The play moved fluidly and naturally around the old barn of a country house. There was no movie effort to "open up" the play except under the titles at beginning and end. In between, we followed the play very closely. This was in flagrant contradiction of every manual of the movies ever written, yet the thing worked with all the power and pathos of Chekhov. It was able to do this because the camera—or the cameras, actually—moved easily and without calling attention to themselves through the house, zooming in unostentatiously for close-ups, panning around a room, catching reaction shots, all without disturbing the flow of the drama, let alone chopping it up and remaking it as film, in the traditional treatment of plays on screen. *Vanya* came across as play rather than as movie, but it also came across as something else and what that something else has turned out to be is television drama.

There is indeed an experience of theater as distinct from that of drama. The Young Vic's *Scapino* or Joe Papp's *Two Gents* depends to a very great extent on theatricality, on interplay between players and audience, on the fact of there being an audience as a collective. Many plays do not have such a dependence. They play, essentially as movies do, to each individual member of the audience, or to groups of two or three or four, in short to the family-sized audience, not the auditorium-sized one. That audience is the television audience and public television particularly is creating the audience, the repertory and the whole slowly developing language of the medium, a language combining the grammar, syntax and vocabulary of those of stage, screen and living-room entertainment.

BOOKS



Alinsky's Diamond

TOM McHALE

Lippincott, $8.95

McHALE'S RETREAT

MARK TAYLOR

IN *Alinsky's Diamond* Tom McHale spatially extends the world of his earlier fiction, the two novels *Principato* and *Farragan's Retreat,* but he does not really alter it or its laws. The several reviewers who faulted the new book for sketchy or unbelievable European and Middle Eastern locales, instead of the familiar Philadelphia (where on the whole they would rather have McHale be) surely cannot remember of the earlier books very well, and they make McHale out to be much more a local colorist than he is or tries to be. His strengths, like his weaknesses, are elsewhere. If a dilapidated bar in Philadelphia could be equally in New York or Boston, then why not make it a café in Italy? If an American Irish Catholic can assume the identity of the Italian Principato, then why not let him be an American expatriate drinking himself to death in the French provinces?

In fact, the dimensions of McHale's

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world, which depend hardly at all on physical environment, are remarkably constant. At its center is a single man —Angelo Principato, Arthur Farragan, and now Francis Xavier Murphy—who can be young or middle-aged, failed or successful, impoverished or comfortable, but who *will* be pleasant, passive, and reasonably humble, manipulated by, uncomprehending of, and finally, subtly, rebellious against the events and people about him. The events strike the reader as very funny when they happen (to the tune of at least two belly laughs per chapter), but they turn out to be either slightly sinister or malignant in the extreme. Most of the people, the supporting cast, turn out to be the way they seem initially, also malignant in the extreme, and their incapacity for change reflects the shallowness of their conception. The worst of these characters are the hero's relatives—his mother, siblings, in-laws, and especially wife and children—and the worst thing about them is that they have to be related to the pleasant protagonist. Conversely, one of the best things about the protagonist, who, unlike his adversaries, does have some depth and ability to work toward self-knowledge, is simply that he is gentler than the nasty people in his family. That means that he cusses less than they, though all McHale's characters spend a lot of time cussing, and that unlike them he doesn't say, or says only when coerced and then with uncommon embarrassment, words like jap, yid, and nigger, a sure index of nastiness in McHale's world.

McHale's heroes all have rotten marriages—as, given their wives, who could not?—an irreducible circumstance from which each novel's plot develops. Sex is not the only problem in these marriages, but it is always a big problem. Neither is sexual potency or lack thereof the hero's full definition, but it is a substantial part of it. Although Principato, Farragan, and Murphy differ considerably from each other in this regard, each man is surrounded by other men who represent collectively a full range of sexual possibilities. Thus, there will be in every book not only celibate priests and gluttonous gigolos, as well as occasional homosexuals and practitioners of deliciously odd perversions, but the man who is or seems to be totally impotent. Cornelius, the *castrato* Luciano, Binky Applebaum, and opposite him the libidinous superman, Principato's brother Rocco, the pimp Jonathan Whitmore, Binky Applebaum again, the unexpected vision of whose intimidating, dazzling tumescence by the hero affords a major if unsettling recognition in each book.

The most important fact in McHale's consistent fictional world is the practical joke that God played on the protagonist when He made him a Catholic and mated him for life, maybe longer, with guilt. You don't have to be a Catholic, of course, to feel guilty about all things, perhaps especially the absence of anything rationally requiring feelings of guilt (witness poor Portnoy, trapped in a Jewish joke as Principato *et al,* are trapped in Catholic jokes—leading legions of dust-jacket-cited critics to call McHale, preposterously, a Roman Roth), but McHale seems to think it helps. And so do his objective spokesmen like Captain Kemal Erim, a Moslem inspector for Interpol in *Alinsky's Diamond,* who indicts Murphy for carrying not only the normal human burden of mortality but also "the extra burden . . . Christianity's Manichaean legacy of all-pervasive sin and evil and its accompanying notion of guilt. . . . It occurs to me that certainly Christianity could not endure without a briar patch like guilt, nor the briar patch of guilt without a curious religion like Christianity to tend it. After all, what other religion than Christianity has come up with a premise like original sin—to dirty mankind before it had a chance to dirty itself?" Guilt is the real antagonist in these books, the enemy within the pleasant hero's sullied skin.

And guilt is a particularly malleable, hence novelistically adaptable commodity since it admits of so many forms of distribution, among which are these: one can have guilt and keep it; or one can give it away and no longer have it; or one can pretend to give it away and yet still retain a considerable interest in it; or one can begin without it and then generously take it over from someone else; or one can refuse to take it from someone else and end up having all the more of it. And, of course, one can merely, and easily, think that he has done one of these when he has in fact done another. In *Principato* life goes along untidily but tolerably for quite a while; it is only when Principato's sister Lucy, a. k. a. Sister Veronica, decides to leave her order that life, remaining untidy, becomes for all concerned intolerable. Except, perhaps, for Lucy, who says, "You've all gone and loaded a kind of moral responsibility on me. Pop hasn't been to church in thirty-five years, but it appeases something inside him to know he's got a daughter in the convent." Principato's own relationship to his old man's protracted absence from church is rather more complex because his loyalties to parent and institution, both potential sources of salvation and damnation, are divided. Which should claim him, leaving the other to saddle him with its guilt? Should he remain the good Catholic boy he has always been, or should he assume the old man's Defiance of the Church? The difficulty of answering this question is implied by the general uncertainty, shared by Principato and forty-one attendant priests, whether at the moment of his death the old man was returning to the Church. What, actually, did Father want?

Edmund Farragan, protagonist Arthur's brother in McHale's second novel, is a priest on whom his family tries to load their own moral responsibility, but there is too much of it, and too much guilt, to sit comfortably even on Edmund's broad shoulders. Arthur's son Simon opted for peace in Canada rather than war in Vietnam, and into the bargain wrote a letter of sympathy to Ho Chi Minh. When Malcolm, the son of Arthur's sister Anna, is killed in Vietnam, and Edward, the son of Arthur's other brother Jim, is maimed there, the family decides that Simon must pay for it with his life. Simon is such an essential louse, whether moral-

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ity or cowardice prompted his actions, that the reader does not altogether doubt that there may be some justice in this retribution. But is it really Malcolm and Edward whom Simon is being asked to pay for, or America's guilt in the war, or Anna, Jim, and Arthur's self-serving, hypocritical, middle-class complacency? Anyway, Simon does not pay, does not die, but Arthur Farragan does. And why?

Arthur Farragan, appointed by Anna and Jim as trigger man to get Simon, dies because he is willing to murder his own son. Except that he is not really willing, of course, but pretends to go along with the plan the better to sabotage it. However, the pretense is rather fun: "Farragan had absolutely no intention of murdering his son," we read on the book's first page," . . . but it occasionally disturbed him that he so positively enjoyed fantasizing the killer poses." It is not until the novel's last chapter that the moral consequences of delight in fantasizing the role of Abraham are clear; when they are, all the incidents of the book—apparently random, diffuse, trivial, comical (Farragan is the kind of Catholic, for instance, who has no problem visiting whores and keeping a mistress, but who must drape cloth over statues of the Virgin Mary before making love to his wife) — become relevant, compressed into a climax that is a moment of overawing human terror. Farragan must die because, as his ambiguous attitude toward Simon comes largely to reveal, he did not find it enough to live, in himself or in his son. He is guilty of not holding onto life. Long before his time is due, as his friend Fitzpatrick charges, Farragan starts "going back: acceding to the inner dyings and crumblings, embracing the lush grayness of senility. . . ." This is wintry indeed, with a touch of the epiphanic chill of Joyce's *The Dead.*

This terror at the heart of *Farragan's Retreat* is McHale's one signal fictional achievement. Beside it, *Principato* appears unresolved and *Alinsky's Diamond* anarchic and flatly anti-climactic. It's too bad, because even in *Farragan's Retreat* McHale's success is attained in

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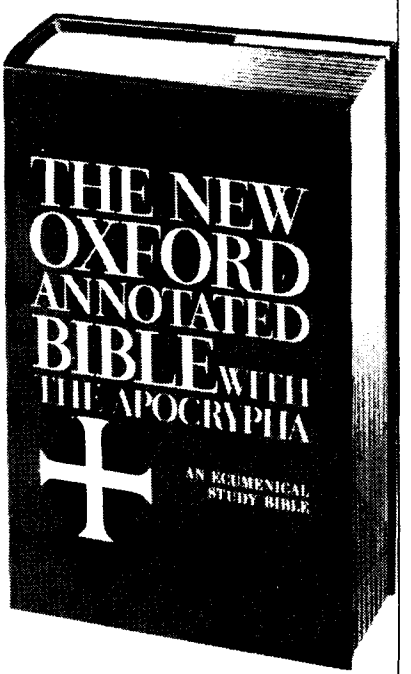

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spite of his prose, a very remarkable feat, and when success is partial, as in *Principato,* or dubious, as in *Alinsky's Diamond,* his prose becomes more than one can reasonably ignore. How does one describe it? At best, perhaps serviceable, capable of conveying information, though with none of the richness, inventiveness, and complexity that McHale can give to incidents (part of the trouble may be that the incidents come too easily, that McHale's imagination is so prodigal that he finds no need to temper its products). At worst, which it is much of the time, hackneyed, flaccid, and dreary. When someone says something in earnest, he says it in dead earnest; when someone is awakened, he is rudely awakened. I wish that McHale wouldn't allow Murphy to become "suddenly enthused" at something; I wish, also, that I could be confident McHale didn't mean "amused" when he writes "bemused." And I most certainly wish there were no dialogue of this sort (between Murphy and his wife Monique):

> "Bring back the Holy Grail for me, Frank."
>
> "Wasn't that something to drink from?"
>
> "In this case it means that cannibal sexual appetite you had when I married you. We're only in our thirties—too young for something like that to be gone entirely."

Were even Catherine Barkley and Lieutenant Henry that bad together?

Still, McHale is a serious, purposeful writer, and he clearly had big ideas for *Alinsky's Diamond.* Maybe, like John Steinbeck in *East of Eden,* he is trying too hard. In their humility, which is not always quite so authentic as it seems, McHale's heroes are all Christ figures, of a sort; their Christ-likeness, however, never presumes to be pure but is interestingly mixed with something else: Farragan's with the obedience of Abraham, Murphy's with the ambiguous luck of, oddly, Barabbas. So the man who is to die is one with the man who is spared, and because of that coincidence he cannot die at all. For Murphy, when a child growing up in Iowa, tried to commit suicide by walking into a tornado, which turned aside, leaving him unharmed, killing his parents and sister. This bit of fortune doesn't interest Murphy much, but it proves of surpassing importance to Meyer Alinsky, a cosmopolitan Jew with a Byronically dark past, which began, also, in Iowa, who enlists Murphy, along with a whore, a pimp, an abortionist, and a senile priest, in the Fourteenth Crusade: a trek from France to the Holy Land with Murphy carrying the cross in which is hidden Alinsky's stolen diamond. The story is, naturally, all about guilt and atonement. Murphy must suffer for wasting his life, and Alinsky must have him suffer for the terrible deed committed long ago by unknown Christians against the innocent and thus marked Jew in Aruba, Iowa.

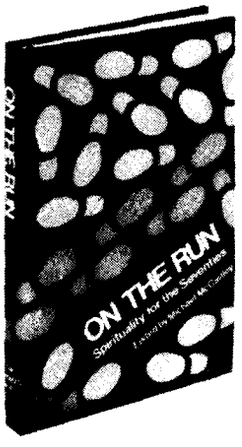
Learning that Murphy had once been spared, Alinsky realizes that he cannot make him suffer so terminally as he had supposed, and as Murphy had come to expect, so the retribution is visited on others, whom, Alinsky rationalizes, he is doing a favor. Then, after Alinsky meets his own Nemesis — whose identity is a particularly failed bit of irony—it develops that nothing has been as it appeared, and the indiscriminate slaughter of a number of the book's personages was a mistake or at least an act with no possibly redemptive value. But Murphy, be it said, is suitably impressed, and sets off to do, à la Proust, a biography of Alinsky.

Now there is something very wrong with all this. First, although Murphy might just be up to his task if only McHale could decide what that task is, Alinsky is not nearly up to his. Anticipated by Mermelstein in *Principato* and Binky Applebaum in *Farragan's Retreat* as the wayward Christian's Jewish conscience, Alinsky is not altogether a new character in McHale's work though he is certainly meant to be the most fully drawn of his type. But he is, regrettably, a pretty dull fellow; the stage business McHale gives him—drinking countless cans of Budweiser beer, boasting about his possessions and his unlikely service for Israel in the Six Day War—seems to go on forever, does not stay funny very long, and has no perceptible metaphoric value. He is scarcely alive, and his

ON THE RUN

Spirituality for the Seventies

Edited by Michael McCauley



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inclination toward violence, if believable at all, is wholly pathological, divorced from any larger meaning of the book. Elsewhere McHale can get away with caricatures because they do serve, somehow, to define the problems and environment of the protagonist, but he does not allow them equal time. Here, we are to believe in Alinsky for himself, as something more than a phase of Murphy's dysfunction, and yet he too is a caricature.

Like *Farragan's Retreat, Alinsky's Diamond* would be about the mysterious and sudden coalescence of random or disjointed circumstances into the supreme fact of terror, of paralyzing, existential fear, of Frost's loneliness that "Will be more lonely ere it will be less." It doesn't work, though, or at least it didn't for me. Objectively horrible things happen in *Alinsky's Diamond,* plenty of them, but they are arbitrary and gratuitous. They are not, as they absolutely are in *Farragan's Retreat,* a cruelly definitive interpretation of everything that has gone before. Another way of saying this is that in *Farragan's Retreat* nobody gets away with anything, not Jim with his absolute categories of patriot and traitor nor Arthur with his of virgin and whore nor the young man El Greco who looks to Catholicism for moral superiority. Not even Arthur's bitch-wife Muriel (who is far more legitimately hateful than Murphy's Monique), the most unredeemably damned of all. In *Alinsky's Diamond* one can never really understand why the characters should get what they get, and the dozens of often comic episodes do not, finally, revolve about a single moral hub. What McHale can do at the top of his form, as he has shown once, is make you shudder, though I don't think many readers will shudder at *Alinsky's Diamond.* I don't want this novelist to go back to Philadelphia, but I hope he will follow his third novel with a book worthy of his second.

The National Labor Relations Board

FRANK W. McCULLOCH & TIM BORNSTEIN

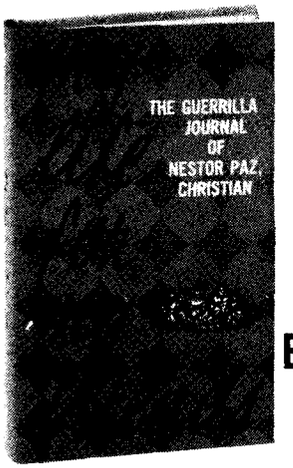
Praeger, $10

JOHN C. CORT

On the one hand, there was the Carnegie steel executive who back about 1890 contributed this gem to the enduring literature of labor relations: "I have always had one rule—if a workman sticks up his head, hit it." And there was the New England textile industry journal which, during the great textile strikes of 1934, wrote with calm and majestic confidence, "A few hundred funerals will have a quieting influence."

On the other hand, further back, in 1797 to be exact, there was Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson and Madison, who counterposed to this philosophy of industrial monarchy by divine right of terror the following: "The democratic principle on which this nation was founded should not be restricted to the political process but should be applied to the industrial operation as well."

In general, however, though they were not as honest about it, the legislators and judges of our beloved country, being mainly men of property, favored the former philosophy rather than the latter until such time as the Great Depression of the Thirties scared the hell out of them and sometimes drove them into a salutary retirement. So that Congress in 1935 was moved to pass the Wagner Act and put the federal government behind a guarantee that American workers should have the right to organize in unions of their own choosing and share a say in deciding the terms and conditions under which they would have to work.



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Malcolm Boyd

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REVIEWERS

MARK TAYLOR teaches English at Manhattan College. This is the first of what will be a regular literary column in these pages.

JOHN C. CORT has worked for labor groups and anti-poverty agencies and is writing a book about his life and times.

GEORGE DEVINE is the author of *Liturgical Renewal* and, most recently, *American Catholicism: Where Do We Go From Here?* (Prentice-Hall).

MARGARET WIMSATT lives in New Haven, Connecticut.

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Did I say "guarantee"? Actually, it took two more years and a threat by Roosevelt to unpack the Supreme Court before that august bulwark of conservatism voted by a 5-4 squeaker to uphold the constitutionality of the Act and persuade the more sensible members of the business community to turn their faces toward the rising sun. And even today, many of their brethren continue to ignore the law, albeit at the price of some pretty fat fees to sophisticated attorneys who teach them how to castrate a union and still get away with it.

The National Labor Relations Board, one of a series that Praeger is doing on federal agencies, is the story of how democracy came to the workplace and was legalized and hassled over and amended and pilloried and defended. Its authors are competent scholars with more objectivity than you might expect from men who have been so close to the Board. Frank McCulloch was appointed chairman by President Kennedy in 1961 and served until 1969. Tim Bornstein was his assistant during two of those years. Both are now professors.

They are very good at developing the background to the Wagner Act which a sharp historian like James MacGregor Burns once characterized as "the most radical legislation passed during the New Deal, in the sense that it altered fundamentally the nation's politics by vesting massive economic and political power in organized labor."

They are also good at clarifying the amendments which, with the inevitable swing of the pendulum back to the right, swept through Congress at twelve year intervals and came to be known as the Taft-Hartley Act (1947) and the Landrum-Griffin Act (1959).

Despite a number of anti-union stingers in these two bills neither the authors nor this reviewer mean to imply that they were all bad. The Wagner Act made no bones about being one-sided. Its purpose was to give workers the power to stand up and talk back to the boss. Inevitably, as union power grew, this power too was abused and not always at the expense of employers but often at the greater expense of workers.

Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin provided checks on union power and, in particular, made it more difficult for union czars to emulate the employers and maintain their own little czardoms within the labor movement.

The authors' overall evaluation of the NLRB, the agency responsible for the implementation of all these Acts, is favorable, as one might expect from two men who have so much responsibility for its performance. But they make their case with almost no trace of special pleading or windy pointing with pride. A sound and valuable job.

Vanderbilt University announces the Harold Stirling Vanderbilt Scholarships. The Scholarships are awarded "to students who have demonstrated qualities characteristic of Mr. Vanderbilt: A lively intellect, sound scholarship, tenacity of purpose, versatility, a commitment to excellence in worthwhile endeavor," and "for exceptional accomplishment and high promise . . . in science, music, art, journalism, creative writing, debate, dance, theatre, entrepreneurial activity and academic work generally." Undergraduate scholarships provide $5000 per year for four years. **Office of Admissions, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 37240.**

The Recovery of the Sacred

JAMES HITCHCOCK

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GEORGE DEVINE

A decade after the initial advent of liturgical reform in the Roman Catholic Church, particularly in the United States, we are in a position to evaluate somewhat critically the gains of the "liturgical movement" in the American Church which culminated in the decrees of the Second Vatican Council (1962-5). A number of liturgical retrospectives are coming out nowadays in print and otherwise (including one by this reviewer), since the passing of a decade since the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (December 4, 1963, to be implemented in the U.S. the first Sunday of Advent, 1964) affords some perspective. And of all the recapitulations and re-evaluations, perhaps none is more thoughtful, and thought-provoking, than Professor Hitchcock's book.

Hitchcock follows one of the cardinal rules for good liturgists and sacramental theologians: he refuses to become preoccupied with the external signs; rather, he focuses on those deeper realities and relationships to which the signs point. In so doing, he is mindful of the axiom *Lex orandi, lex credendi,* and it is in this light that he provides us with a most articulate—if not the most or the only articulate—statement of the conservative (but not schismatically and therefore falsely "traditionalist") anguish over our liturgical experiences of the past ten or so years.

An historian by academic profession, Hitchcock relies heavily on anthropology (in particular, the work of Mary Douglas). His basic thesis is that you cannot manipulate ritual symbols of belief or relationship without somehow affecting the belief or relationship. Moreover, he argues, if ritual change takes place without extreme care and sensitivity, beliefs and relationships will be affected in a manner which is confusing, demoralizing and even destructive. I have viewed this from the viewpoint of the religious educator, lamenting the pre-Conciliar confusion of substance with accident; Professor Hitchcock sees it on a more subtle "gut" level of symbolism, but it comes down to the same realization—you cannot be careless with ritual, whether you argue for or against its external reform. The haphazard, sloppy, unexplained changes of the Roman liturgy in the

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wake of Vatican II, the author maintains, did many people, and their Catholic lives of faith and practice, much harm, from which the Church and many individuals in it (or no longer in it) are yet attempting to recover.

But make no mistake! Hitchcock does not advocate an erasure of liturgical *aggiornamento*. On the contrary, he lauds the gains made—which he feels will serve the Church well—in the vernacularization of the Roman liturgy, and the involvement of the congregation in its rites. His only regret is that these gains could have been made with less injury to the People of God. And if this appears to be Monday-morning-quarterbacking, it should be noted that most of the points Hitchcock makes concerning ritual, symbol and belief are going to be valuable for the ongoing life of the Church, especially in light of our experiences with liturgical reform since 1964.

This book will be a refreshing answer to those who are tempted to judge that conservatives have nothing to say about the Church or its liturgy, largely because Hitchcock considers himself a liberal (even if after the fashion described by Garry Wills, reminiscent of the American Church of the 1950s), who feels genuine liberalism in the Church was thwarted by liturgical re-upholstering, experimentation and anarchy (again including that of the schismatic Right) run amok.

The Recovery of the Sacred offers not only a series of carefully developed theses, but a number of little insights which could easily become future articles or books by the same author: for example, an assertion by Hitchcock that the suburban movement of American Catholics is a threat to the ritual faith-communities which thrive in cities—or his arguments indicating that 1966 (not 1963 or 1964) is in fact the pivotal year in American liturgical history. Moreover, Roman Catholics with ecumenical perspective will welcome Hitchcock's references and sensitivity to the liturgical life of the Anglican communion. And, overall, the book is readable and engaging.

There are times when Hitchcock seems to fall into the same trap as those he opposes: in some cases, he appears to attach more effective power to external ritual than it might really have, in this case claiming more damage done by liturgical alternation than would appear attributable to that one among many elements of recent change in American Catholic life. But, with that possible excess taken account of, *The Recovery of the Sacred* is a valuable "position paper" which deserves serious consideration.

Lord Rochester's Monkey

GRAHAM GREENE

Viking, $15.95

MARGARET WIMSATT

I'd be a dog, a monkey, or a bear,
Or anything but that vain animal
Who is so proud of being rational.
—Rochester, "In Imitation of the Eighth Satire of Boileau"

As a young man's book, presented by an author of years and attainments; one wonders why. Graham Greene mentions in his sort of autobiography, *A Sort of Life*, that one of his frustrations in a period of penury in the early thirties was the rejection by his publishers of "a life of Lord Rochester." But in those days he had more pressing problems: how to pay his income tax, where to find the price of a train ticket to London on important business, how to shape his next novel, *Stamboul Train*. And even now that it is published, he does not tell us its inspiration. But he did then speak with affection of his rural life in Chipping Campden, the walks around the Cotswold countryside, which spills over into Oxfordshire, where, at Spelsbury, Lord Rochester was born. Perhaps in the intervals of writing the early novels (and reading his evil genius, Conrad) he turned to the Restoration poets and found a connecting link between the peaceful landscape where he himself was suffering, and Rochester's unhappy mind. Cer-

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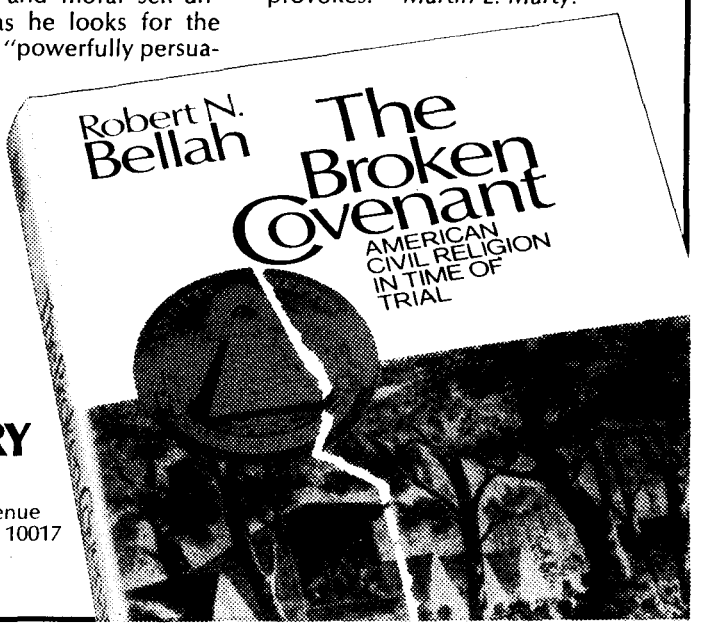

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tainly he reads a good deal of himself into his subject.

Forty years later, the book sees life. Greene has not seriously revamped it, only added a preface and a bibliography that take account of later work. John Wilmot, 2nd Earl of Rochester (1647-1680), wit, courtier, rakehell, poet, is about as tricky a subject as any aspiring young biographer could tackle. Many of the incidents of his life in the teeming bawdy London of Charles II's days are obscure, come to us only from such gossipy letters as happen to have survived, colored by the partisanship of the writers. (Pepys' *Diary* is a help for some parts.) Did Rochester, or did he not, in cowardly fashion avoid a duel with the Earl of Mulgrave over a slanderous remark? What exactly was his role in the midnight prank that ended with the death of Captain Downs? it was enough apparently to cause his banishment from court until the scandal died down. Was he, for that period, living near the Tower of London disguised as THE FAMOUS PATHOLOGIST, or THE NOBLE MOUNTEBANK? ministering principally to women's diseases, Dr. Alexander Bendo? Probably. Did he indeed hire the thugs who set upon and bruised John Dryden in Rose Alley in 1679? (Greene thinks yes.) And what are we to make of his famous deathbed conversion to the Church of England and her sacraments so movingly described by the eminent churchman Dr. Gilbert Burnet? One finds one's way through these thickets by nose and ear and bias.

The case is just as difficult when it comes to determining the canon of Rochester's poetry. It was reprinted frequently after his death, went into limbo with the Augustans. Quiller-Couch's *Oxford Book of English Verse* prints under his name four short lyrics, two of them probably spurious. Dame Helen Gardner's *Book* gives him five. Under her more modern hand, he comes out much tougher and more interesting, less sentimental, less like bits of Lovelace and Suckling (Loveling and Sucklace, those two indistinguishable cavaliers we all struggled with in school). Behind these differences is the monumental effort of scholarship which produced David Vieth's *Complete Poems of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester* in 1968. Some questions are still open, and the reader may very well choose to accept Greene's empathetic judgment of which poems are Rochester's rather than Vieth's six-step procedural analysis. Behind the debate is the mass of poetry Rochester wrote out of his wit-lightened pain. It is dirty, and extremely anti-erotic, reflecting, sexually and in all ways, the torments of a splenetic mind. Critics talk about the poems in terms of influences: Donne, Milton, Marvell. I see them as precursors, in their best passages, of the master of wit.

> Nothing suits worse with vice than want of sense:
> Fools still are wicked at their own expense.

or

> Huddled in dirt the reasoning engine lies
> Who was so proud, so witty, and so wise

might have been written fifty years on, by Alexander Pope.

The complication is that in arguing back and forth between the poems and the life, the evidence is confused. *To the Postboy* is a bit of doggerel that asks the postboy the way to Hell. Professor Vieth gives it to Rochester, saying that it reflects his ambivalent feeling on the squalid death of that otherwise unknown Captain Downs. Greene, having read Vieth, is sure that it was written by one of Rochester's enemies to discredit him. And thereby hangs the judgment on Lord Rochester, the man.

One thing has been added that would have amazed the hungry Greene of Chipping Campden days; the book is sumptuously produced. The credit goes, though inconspicuously, to Greene Rainbird, Ltd. of London, who planned, illustrated, and produced the present volume for Viking Press. There are almost more pictures than one needs, too many of them bled, and the attributions, at the back, are not as full as they should be. But the lavish style of this book reflects the affection and respect its author has earned, in the years between.

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 443)

have said "School of Divinity." I regret the error although in context my intent was probably clear to most readers.

As to Dr. Hitchcock's complaints

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about my "muddying the waters," I think he protests too much.

I never used the terms liberal or conservative in the article. However, I would not hesitate to agree with Dr. Hitchcock that "if the terms are applicable, there are liberals and conservatives" on the faculties of both the School of Divinity and the theology department. And I do not see what this has to do with the Divinity School as an entity playing a progressive, or if Dr. Hitchcock prefers, liberal role and the theology department playing a traditional or conservative role in the university. I frankly question if Dr. Hitchcock wishes to maintain the opposite.

As to my thesis being "inherently illogical," either Dr. Hitchcock just did not understand it or is trying to do some muddying himself. I can only suggest a rereading of the article and disown the thesis he imputes. I cannot answer his question, because in no way did my article suggest that Father O'Connell "regards the divinity faculty of questionable orthodoxy." In fairness to Father O'Connell I would also state that in talking with me in connection with the article, he in no way questioned anyone's orthodoxy. Of course, as head of the seven-member search committee that recommended Father O'Connell for the presidency, perhaps Dr. Hitchcock knows something I don't.

In any case, the controversy is now theoretical as the St. Louis University Board of Trustees voted on Jan. 25 to abolish the eight-year-old School of Divinity by merging it with the theology department in the College of Arts and Sciences. Time will tell how long Divinity School faculty members—liberal or conservative—will be around to teach mandatory theology courses to undergraduates. MARGARET M. CARLAN

For more on this, see News & Views, page 442.—Ed.

U.S. & Chile

To the Editors: Rather than dwelling wistfully on the past—what might have been— in our relations with Chile, Abigail McCarthy ["The Fact of Interdependence," Dec. 6] would have done better to focus on the continuing intervention of the United States government in Chile's affairs in the form of the $20 million in economic aid awarded the repressive military junta according to the terms of the recently passed Foreign Assistance Act and on the continuing intervention of American corporations and financial institutions, such as the Maufacturers Hanover Trust and the Bank of America, which extend millions in loans and credits to the fascist regime which they denied Allende's democratic Chile.

Edouardo Frei, whom Ms McCarthy praises as a "principled leader" is a traitor to the Chilean people whose commitment to the democratic process was opportunitstic at best. Not only did his party accept $20 million in campaign contributions from the CIA in 1964, in effect subverting Chile's electoral system to his own advantage, but during the Allende years Frei himself travelled the European bankers' circuit urging a suspension of loans and credits to Chile, thereby seeking to feather his own political nest in the consequent economic disruptions of his country. As the leader of the opposition to Allende in the Chilean Congress, he lead his party in blocking all the progressive legislation the President had been elected to effect and, in the latter days of the Popular Unity government, when CIA-supported strikes and terrorism had the country tottering on the brink of social and economic dissolution, he lead the opposition in asking the military to take over.

Most significantly, this "principled leader," witnessing since the coup the destruction of all democratic liberties and institutions, the abrogation of human rights, and the imprisonment and torture of thousands of Chileans, including members of his own party, has uttered not so much as a winner of protest: another display of the opportunism he has shown in the face of a savage coup from which he hopes to reap ultimate personal, political advantage.

GOD, CAESAR and the CONSTITUTION

THE COURT AS REFEREE OF CHURCH-STATE CONFRONTATION

by LEO PFEFFER

"Pfeffer's reputation as a constitutional scholar and defender of civil liberties rests on such books as his monumental *Church, State, and Freedom, This Honorable Court* and *The Liberties of an American*. Here he brings his authority and learning to an analysis of church-state conflicts and the ways in which the Supreme Court's decisions have affected the churches themselves, the public school system, private and parochial schools, the family, the military and the community's welfare. Pfeffer is lucid, forthright and cogent, tracing in detail, through scores of Supreme Court decisions, the struggle throughout American history of 'the hosts of God'—organized religions—to win legal acceptance for their views on public morality (obscenity, sex relations, etc.), abortion, conscientious objection, school prayers, church taxation and other controversial issues. His study underscores the continuing validity of the constitutional principle of church-state separation, and the by-and-large notable role of the Court in sustaining the wisdom of the Constitution's framers." – Publishers Weekly

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John F. Kennedy's limmerick was correct, but in a different context than that in which he wished it to be applied: Like the "Lady from Niger/ those (like Frei) "who ride the CIA tiger/ END UP INSIDE!"

CHARLES BRIODY
Secretary, Bay Area Ecumenical
Committee of Concern for Chile

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

Michael Novak (Cont.)

judicial and political infrastructures, the full development of individuals, intellectual liberty, a state compassionate toward and responsible to its citizens. There is a kind of "mystical body" of those cultures that aspire to similar ideals. Not all cultures do. Were Israel to die, a part of us would die.

But there is more to the question than that. Were we to turn our backs on Israel, whether openly or in self-deception, the United States (and the West) would have demonstrated its moral emptiness. Western civilization would in us have proved itself hollow. To fail Israel would be to betray everything we value—and ourselves.

In trying to force on Israel compromises and concessions—"only for her own good, in the name of justice, and with her own long-range survival in view"—we are in grave danger of self-deception. Possibly, as some insist, we serve our ideals thereby. Possibly, we serve the gleam of oil dollars.

Our self-interest in Israel is pre-eminently moral. A betrayal of Israel would be worse than Munich, 1938. It would leave life in the United States without moral savor.

Israel has a long and dangerous road to walk with its Arab neighbors. Delicate concessions and slippery arrangements must be negotiated. A hundred years from now the entire Middle East may have blossomed and become again, as in the past, the leading ornament of world civilization: wealthy, beautiful, characterized by free, just, and intellectually vigorous institutions. In such a vision both Israel and the Arab-Moslem nations have proportionate roles to play. Let us hope that the nearest—and perhaps most dangerous—steps along the road are taken wisely, justly and bravely.

Commonweal welcomes letters on subjects treated in its pages. Letters of not more than 250 or 300 words naturally have a better chance of being published.

Index to Volume CI

October 4, 1974 to March 14, 1975

Articles and Poetry

Aman, Kenneth ..... Organizing Alma Mater 358
Baum, Gregory ..... Faith After Auschwitz—and Belfast 153
Berrigan, Daniel ..... An Open Letter to Joe O'Rourke 61
Bishop, Jordan ..... The Subsidized Society 350
Bono, Agostino ..... Eyeing the Pacific 28
Carlan, Margaret M.
Shaping the End of a Divinity School? 317
Castelli, Jim .. Burying the National Association of Laity 101
Lessons at Good Shepherd 413
Clifford, Nicholas R. ..... The Cultural Revolution 207
Cohen, Arthur A. .... Selections for Religious Book Week 427
Cooke, Bernard ..... Ministering in Tomorrow's Church 150
Cooney, John .... Irish Secretarianism and Reconciliation 228
Cort, John C. ..... The Cardinal Cried Red 297
Black and White in Boston 355
Cronin, Thomas E. ..... Critics' Choices for Christmas 236
Culley, Margaret Mulvehill .... Sisterhood Was Powerful 15
Decker, Raymond G. .. The Abortion Decision:
Two Years Later: More Christian Than Its Critics 384
Deedy, John ..... Managing Literary History 38
Donnelly, Dorothy ..... Suns and Straws: A Poem 298
Druska, John ..... Christmas in Poetry 260
Engle, John D., Jr. ..... The Battle: A Poem 445
Fandel, John ..... Consequence: A Poem 288
Fitzmeyer, Joseph A. ..... Belief in Jesus Today 137
Flannery, Harry W. .... Spain: Making No Haste Slowly 256
Fremantle, Anne ..... Critics' Choices for Christmas 238
Getlein, Frank ..... Downstream from Watergate 211
The British are Here 302
The Theater on Television 457
Gibbons, Russell W. ..... Textbooks in the Hollows 231
Graves, Elizabeth Minot ..... Children's Books 192
A Selected List of Children's Books 192
Gurney, Ramsdell, Jr. ..... Is Collision Inevitable? 452
Hahn, Claire ..... Culture and the Future of Belief 160
Hazelton, Paul ..... Choice and the School 11
Hebblethwaite, Peter ..... Relaxing with Karl Rahner 111
Church Membership and Models 131
Heidenry, John ..... Critic's Choices for Christmas 238
Henriot, Peter J. ..... An Integral Faith for Today 146
Is the System Reformable? 254
Herman, Edward S. .... The Income 'Counter-Revolution' 290
On 'Helping' South Vietnam 392
Higgins, George G. .. Selections for Religious Book Week 428
Higgins, John P. ..... Luther and the Synod 326
Hottelet, Richard C. ..... Crisis at the U.N. 416
Imbelli, Robert ..... Selections for Religious Book Week 429
Jabusch, Willard F. ..... Catholics in East Germany 34
Kahn, Hannah ..... Skater's Waltz: A Poem 359
Klare, Michael T. .. Intervention Game-Plans for the '70s 447
Knoble, John ..... Facing the Right Questions 5
Kohak, Erazim ..... Progress and the Good Lord 57
Kostmayer, John ..... Pascal: A Poem 363
Lauder, Robert E.
The Catholic Novel and the 'Insider God' 78
Lindeman, Jack ..... Map Reading: A Poem 215
McBrien, Richard P. ..... Faith, Theology and Belief 134
McCarthy, Abigail ..... No Cheers for Father Keane? 30
A Farewell 184
The Fact of Interdependence 230
Profession and Commitment 289
The Long and Subtle Servitude 415
McCarthy, Eugene J. ..... Campaign Dollars and Sense 322
McCauley, Michael F.
Selections for Religious Book Week 430
McLaughlin, Martin M. ..... Food for the World 266
Maguire, Daniel C.
Death and Resurrection of Moral Theology 142
Maloff, Saul ..... Dear Allen, Dear Donald, Dear Hart 398
Mattern, Douglas ..... The Economics of Death 31
The War Syndicate 263
Merchant, Norris .. Selections for Religious Book Week 431
Mohr, Anthony ..... Dirty Tricks on Campus 352
Murphy, Sr. Ellen
Flourishes for a Friend Absent in Time: A Poem 320
Mysko, Madeleine ..... Argos: A Poem 258
Novak, Michael .. Brother McNaught, Brother O'Rourke 56

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Football for Feminists 104
Should Women Be Priests? 206
Historical Orthodoxy 259
The Communal Catholic 321
Campaigning with Shriver 383
The Moral Meaning of Israel 446
Patrick, S. Anne E. . .Selections for Religious Book Week 432
Pawlikowski, John T. .....Catholics Look at Jews 364
Powers, Thomas .....Critics' Choices for Christmas 240
Reiter, Thomas .....Ice Storm: A Poem 325
Roberts, Cokie .....Democracy Comes Home 257
Scheele, Roy .....The Gap in the Cedar: A Poem 55
Schroth, Raymond A. .....The Subversive Encyclopedia 81
Scott, Nathan, Jr. .....Critics' Choices for Christmas 241
Sisyphus .....Post-Watergate Reconstruction-II 8
Post-Watergate Reconstruction-Media 52
Hi' Ya, Fella, Yourself 102
Oil for the Senate's Lamps 181
Many Happy Returns? 235
The Winter of Our Discontent 252
Ultimate Test for Reformers 284
Watching the Watchdogs 318
'Twas in January in '75 349
How Not to Ask Questions 380
Somewhere in This Promised Land 419
The Death of a Salesman 444
Sloyan, Gerard S. .....Critics' Choices for Christmas 244
Swidler, Arlene ....Selections for Religious Book Week 433
Taylor, Mark .....Quick Watson, the Needle 85
McHale's Retreat 459
TeSelle, Sallie McFague
Selections for Religious Book Week 434
Ten Kortenaar, Henry .....The Synod Says No 204
Toolan, David S. .....The Difficulty of Making Fire 127
Trinkaus, Walter R. .....The Abortion Decision:
Two Years Later: Dred Scott Revisited 384
True, Michael .....Last Resort in Boston 76
Divorce & Remarriage: I—
A Meeting of Divorced Catholics 185
Critics' Choices for Christmas 245
Vazakas, Byron: The Inadmissible Eye: A Poem 191
Walker, Ronald .....An Island at Sea 286
Weathers, Winston ..Poem for the Resurrection: A Poem 86
Werner, Jayne .....Catholics in South Vietnam 105
Wicker, Brian .....Parent Power in Schools 4
Wilson's Second Chance 180
Britain on the Brink 285
Witt, Harold .....Through A Glass, Brightly: A Poem 112
Young, Clemewell .....Fourth of July
at the Shore: A Poem 112
Young, James ....Divorce & Remarriage: II—
Misimpressions About Marriage 186

Book Reviews

A Home for the Heart: By Bruno Bettelheim .....
Carlo A. Weber 369
A Theology of the Old Testament: By John L. McKenzie
Roland E. Murphy 273
An Attic of Ideals: By Karen Swenson ....Claire Hahn 217
About Paterson: The Making and Unmaking of an American City: By Christopher Norwood .....Sean Cronin 306
Alinsky's Diamond: By Tom McHale .....Mark Taylor 459
American Labor: A Pictorial Social History:
By M. B. Schnapper .....John C. Cort 113
Bernanos, Georges: A Biography: By Robert Speaight ..
Wallace Fowlie 89
Bitter Harvest, The: Church and State in Northern Ireland: By Albert J. Menendez .....Sean Cronin 67
Blacks in the Industrial World: By Theodore V. Purcell & Gerald F. Cavanagh .....John C. Cort 113
Bringing the War Home: The American Soldier in Vietnam and After: By John Helmer .....Quincy Howe 331
Civilized Man's Eight Deadly Sins: By Konrad Lorenz
Jean Bethke Elshtain 220
Clio and the Doctors: Psycho-history, Quanto-history and History: By Jacques Barzun .....Dennis O'Brien 367
Confessions of St. Augustine, The ....George W. Shea 164
Death by Choice: By Daniel C. Maguire .....
Lisa H. Newton 304
Denial of Death, The: By Ernest Becker ..Victor Ferkiss 216
Diary of Anais Nin, Vol. V, The: By Anais Nin .....
Daniel Stern 91
Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729, The: M. Halsey
Thomas, ed. .....Margaret O'Brien Steinfels 336
End of Intelligent Writing, The: By Richard Kostelanetz
Robert Leiter 403
Enormous Changes at the Last Minute: By Grace Paley
Robert Phillips 116
Filled with New Wine: The Charismatic Renewal of the Church: By James W. Jones ..Michael F. McCauley 218
Freud-Jung Letters, The: William McGuire, ed. .....
Jeffrey Meyers 41
Future of Technological Civilization, The: By Victor Ferkiss .....Richard L. Schoenwald 87
Great Houses of San Francisco, The: Photographs by Curt Brace, Text by Thomas Aidala .....Wayne Andrews 70
How Catholics Look at Jews: Inquiries into Italian, Spanish, and French Teaching Materials: By Claire Huchet Bishop .....John T. Pawlikowski 364
I Believe in Hope: By Jose Maria Diez-Alegria .....
Jordan Bishop 115
Idea of a Modern University, The: Sidney Hook, Paul Kurtz, Miro Todorovich, eds. .....Dennis O'Brien 18
Imitation of Christ, The: By Thomas a Kempis .....
Michael Novak 168
Journey to Opolu: Robert Louis Stevenson, Victorian Rebel: By Edward Rice .....Mark Taylor 22
Labor Lobbyist: The Autobiography of John W. Edelman: By Joseph Carter .....John C. Cort 113
Last Enemy, The: By Richard W. Doss .....
Lisa H. Newton 304
Laughable Lovers: By Milan Kundera ..Ronald De Feo 307
Lautreamont: By Wallace Fowlie .....Mark Taylor 118
Law, Morality and Vietnam: The Peace Militants and the Courts: By John F. & Rosemary S. Bannan .....
Quincy Howe 331
Letters of Hart Crane and his Family, The: Thomas S. W. Lewis, ed. .....Saul Maloff 398
Life Is Elsewhere: By Milan Kundera ..Ronald De Feo 307
Literary Correspondence of Donald Davidson and Allen Tate, The: John Tyree Fain & Thomas Daniel Young, eds. .....Saul Maloff 398
Long Dark Night of the Soul, The: The American Intellectual Left and the Vietnam War: By Sandy Vogelgesang .....Quincy Howe 331
Lord Rochester's Monkey: By Graham Greene .....
Margaret Wimsatt 465
Love-Hate Relations: English and American Sensibilities: By Stephen Spender .....Bruce Cook 93
Merton, Thomas, Monk: Bro. Patrick Hart, ed. .....
Michael Zeik 401
Methodist Revolution, The: By Bernard Semmel .....
Dewey D. Wallace, Jr. 68
National Labor Relations Board, The: By Frank W. McColloch & Tim Bornstein .....John C. Cort 463
New Economics One Decade Older, The: By James Tobin
Richard DuBoff & Edward S. Herman 271
Northern Ireland: Captive of History: By Gary MacEoin
Sean Cronin 67
Our Invaded Universities: By Ronnie Dugger .....
Dennis O'Brien 18
Out of the Vietnam Vortex: A Study of Poets and Poetry Against the War: By James F. Mersmann .....
Quincy Howe 331

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Phenomenon of Man, The: By Pierre Teilhard de Chardin ..... Richard John Neuhaus 171
Politics of Nonviolent Action: By Gene Sharp ..... Michael True 338
Power Struggle: By Richard L. Rubenstein ..... Arthur A. Cohen 305
Questions and Answers on Death and Dying: By Elisabeth Kubler-Ross .....Lisa H. Newton 304
Radical Paradoxes: Dilemmas of the American Left, 1945-1970: By Peter Clecak .....Todd Gitlin 405
Recovery of the Sacred, The: By James Hitchcock .... George Devine 464
Religion and Revolution: By Guenter Lewey ..... J. M. Cameron 335
Reverent Discipline, The: Essays in Literary Criticism and Culture: By George A. Panichas ....Mark Taylor 374
San Francisco 1846-1856: From Hamlet to City: By Roger W. Lotchin .....Wayne Andrews 70
Selected Writings of William Goyen ....Robert Phillips 116
Sex and the Confessional: By Norberto Valentini & Clara De Meglio .....Dennis O'Brien 333
Shade Seller, The: By Josephine Jacobsen ..Claire Hahn 217
Something Happened: By Joseph Heller ....Irving Malin 272
Speech and Manners of American Women, The: By Henry James .....Jean Bethke Elshtain 340
Spiritual Exercises: By St. Ignatius Loyola ..... William J. Byron 170
Summa Theologiae: By St. Thomas Aquinas ..... Vernon J. Bourke 166
Them and Us: By James J. Matles & James Higgins .. John C. Cort 113
Titius and Bertha Ride Again: Contemporary Moral Cases: By John F. Dedek .....Dennis O'Brien 333
Tongues of Fallen Angels: By Selden Rodman ..... Ronald Christ 338
Trial of Chaplain Jensen, The: By Chaplain Andrew Jensen with Martin Abramson .....Dennis Hale 372
True Americanism: Green Berets and War Resisters: A Study of Commitment: By David Mark Mantell ..... Quincy Howe 331
Western Attitudes Toward Death: By Philippe Aries .... Lisa H. Newton 304
Women Priests in the Catholic Church? By Haye Van Der Meer, S.J. .....Richard P. McBrien 43
Wound Within, The: America in the Vietnam Years, 1945-1974: By Alexander Kendrick .....Quincy Howe 331

Index of Principal Subjects in Articles, Editorials and Letters

Abortion, 27, 30, 47, 48, 50, 61, 74, 179, 198, 343, 384
Abourezk, Senator, 98
Africa, Portuguese, 378
Amnesty, 3, 26
Angola, 378
Anti-Communism, 211
Appeal for Theological Affirmation, 379
Arab-Israeli war, 395, 421
Arafat, Yasser, 251
Arms race, 31, 263
Arroyo, Fr. Gonzalo, S.J., 314
Atlantic City, 108, 282
Attica, 98
Auden, W. H., 38
Auschwitz, faith after, 153
Belfast, 153, 228
Belief, 134
Berger, Peter, 379
Berrigan, Daniel, 61
Bicentennial, 27, 362
Bolivia, 28
Boston, busing in, 76, 199, 226, 283, 355
Boston cemetery strike, 297
Boys Town, 410
Brazil, 28
Britain, and crisis, 285
Brittanica, Encyclopedia, 81
British plays, in U.S., 302
Bruce, Lenny, 213
Budget, the, 411, 414
Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, 226
Busing, in Boston, 76, 199, 226, 283, 355
Butz, Earl, 78, 266
Byrne, Archbishop Leo C., 250
Campaign dollars, 322
Campaign for Human Development, 411
Campus politics, 352
Canada, 350
Catholic Church,
and abortion, 27, 30, 47, 48, 50, 61, 74, 179, 198, 343, 384
and divorce, 185, 186
and faith, 127, 131, 134, 137, 142, 150, 153, 160
and homosexuality, 25, 56, 203
and Israel, 347
and Jews, 94, 347, 364
and laity, 101, 413
and Luther, 326
and models, 131
and parishes, 202
and the Pope, 283
and Supreme Court, 384
and women, 415
and women's colleges, 289
and women priests, 99, 206, 383
in East Germany, 34
in Ireland, 228
in South Vietnam, 105
Catholic novel, the, 78, 347
Cemetery Strike, 297
Charismatics, 375
Chile, 51, 315
China, 207
Choice, and education, 11
Christianity & Crisis, 250
"Christians for Socialism," 314
Christmas, in poetry, 260
CIA, the, 51, 315, 318, 380
Classic comics, 410
Cockshut, A.O.J., 315
College presidents, 15
College unions, 58
Colombia concordat, 346
Columbia Journalism Review, 410
Commonweal's 50th Anniversary, 125
Communal Catholics, 321
Conclave, the next, 250
Congress, reform of, 8, 284
Crane, Hart, 398
Crowley, Pat, 310
Cuban missile crisis, 299
Cultural Revolution, Chinese, 207
Culture, and belief, 160
Cushing, Cardinal 226
Cyprus, 95
Daley, Mayor Richard J., 346
Delaney, John, 98
Democratic party, 27, 179, 235, 284, 383
Distribution of wealth, 290
Dirty tricks on campus, 352
Divinity School, St. Louis, 317
Divorce and remarriage, 185, 186
Doubleday, 98
Dozier, Bishop Carroll T., 415
Dred Scott, 384
East Germany, 34
Eckstein, Mrs. John, 26

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Education, in England, 4
Election reforms, 322
Elections, 179, 235
in Britain, 180
in Greece, 257
Encyclopedia Brittanica, 8
Energy crisis, 181, 348
Episcopal Church, 283, 406
Faith, 127, 131, 134, 137, 142, 146, 150, 153, 160
Farewell, A, 184
Farrell, James T., 439
Feeney, Fr. Leonard, 50
Food crisis, 2, 75, 230, 266, 282, 407
Football, for feminists, 104, 179
Ford, President
and amnesty, 3
and food, 75
and inflation, 227, 253
and recession, 348
and skiing, 378
Fordham University, 50
Foundations, philanthropic, 50
Franco, 256
Franklin, Ben, 362
Gambling, 108, 282
Georgetown University, 410
Germany, East, 34
Goodpaster, General Andrew, 2
Good Shepherd parish, 413
Greece, 257
Greene, Graham, 78, 465
Haig, General Alexander, 2
Hartford statement, 379
Historical orthodoxy, 259
Holmes, Sherlock, 85
Holy Year, 283
Homosexuality, 26, 56, 203
House of Representatives, 8
Hunger, 75, 230, 266, 282, 407
Hutchins, Robert M., 81
Image books, 98
Income distribution, 290
Indochina, 104, 314, 331, 392, 395
Inflation, 227
Integration, 11
Intervention Game-Plans, 447
Ireland, 228
Irish, the, 378
Israel, 251, 347, 446
Jesus, belief in, 137
Jews and Catholics, 347, 364
Journal of Ecumenical Studies, 74
Kempton, Murray, 378
Kennedy, Senator Edward, 27
Kissinger, Henry, 51, 227, 411, 444, 447
Knievel, Evel, 178
Last Western The, 71
Latin America, 51
Latin Mass, 51
Lavanoux, Maurice, 178
Law, and abortion, 384
Linguistic sexism, 74, 199
Literary papers, 38
Liturgy, 51, 464
Luther, 326
McGovern, George, 383
McHale, Tom, 459
McNaught, Brian, 26, 56
Marshall, Judge Thurgood, 11
Media, the, 52, 318
Michigan Catholic, the, 26
Mid East, 411, 447, 452
Military spending, 31
Mills, Wilbur, 213
Ministry, 150, 254
"Missiles of October, The," 299
Moral theology, 142
Morreale, baptism, 27, 30, 47, 48, 50, 343
Murphy, Fr. Edward J., 282
National Assn. of Laity, 101, 275
National Council of Catholic Laity, 26
National Labor Relations Board, 463
Neuhaus, Pastor Richard J., 379
New Jersey campus strike, 358
Nixon, Richard, 26, 75, 316
Nuclear weapons, 31, 263
Nuns, the new, 99, 223
Oil, 181, 348
O'Rourke, Fr. Joe, 27, 30, 47, 48, 50, 56, 61, 179, 198, 343
Parish council, 413
Pentagon, 31, 263
Pentecostals, 375
Percy, Walker, 78
Poetry, at Christmas, 260
Poor, the, 2
Pope, election of, 250
Pope, the, 283
Pornography, 410
Portuguese Africa, 378
Poverty, 290, 411
Press, the, 52, 318
Progress, idea of, 57
Puerto Rico, 286
Racism, 11, 76, 199, 226, 283, 355
Rahner, Karl, 111
Recession, 252, 348, 349
Religion and the courts, 384
Religion and progress, 57
Religious novel, 78, 347
Republican party, 27, 179, 235
Rhodesia, 202
Rice, Msgr. Charles Owen, 2
Rockefeller, Nelson, 3, 98, 102, 203
Rome food conference, 266
St. Benedict's parish, 202
St. Louis U. Divinity School, 317, 410, 411
Saudi Arabia, 410
Schupp, Fr. Franz, 226
Seminary training, 227, 250
Senate, the, 8, 181
Shriver, Sargent, 383
Sisters, 15, 99, 289, 443
Social action, 146
Spadini, Lillo 178
Spain, 256
Supreme Court, 11, 384
Synagogue and church, 347, 364
Synod, bishops', 74, 204, 326
Tate, Allen, 398
Technological civilization, 251
Television as mediator, 421
Television, British, 457
Textbooks, in W. Va., 231, 379
Theater, British, 302
Theology, and belief, 134
Thieu, General, 105
Twin Circle, 410
United Nations, 251, 416
Urban ministry, 254
Vatican, and modern art, 75, 95
Vietnam, 105, 314, 331, 392
Volpe, John A., 226
Ward, Maisie, 380
Watergate, 8, 26, 27, 52, 179, 211, 352, 380
Wealth, distribution of, 411
Welch, Bishop Thomas, 413
West Roxbury, Mass., 51
Wilson, Prime Minister, 180
Women priests, 99, 206, 227, 283, 375
Women's liberation, 15, 74, 99, 104, 202, 206, 310, 415
Women's colleges, 15, 289
World Council of Churches, 5
World hunger, 2, 75, 230, 266, 282, 407

The Stage, by Gerald Weales

The Island 330
Sizwe Banzi 330

The Screen, by Colin L. Westerbeck, Jr.

A Woman Under the Influence 360
Bring Me the Head of Alfredo Garcia 17
California Split 37
Claudine 65
Freebie and the Bean 456
The Front Page 329
Juggernaut 110
Lacombe Lucien 214
Le Fantome de la Liberté 190
Lenny 397
Murder on the Orient Express 329
Rafferty and the Gold Dust Twins .. 456
Scenes from a Marriage: I 269
Scenes from a Marriage: II 300
The Taking of Pelham One Two Three 110
Tokyo Story 84
Uptown Saturday Night 66
Young Frankenstein 421

Media/TV, by Michael Murray

Wilbur Mills and Lenny Bruce 213
Inside the Oval Office 299
America's Big Ben 362
Tube As Mediator 422

Press, by Thomas Powers

Cry War! 395

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